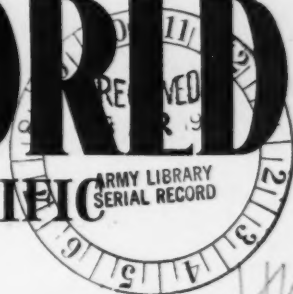


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AUTONOMOUS
REGION**

O. EDMUND CLUBB

**CONFLICTS OF POWER
IN INDONESIA**

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**AUSTRALIAN POLICY
IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA**

ALAN BARCAN

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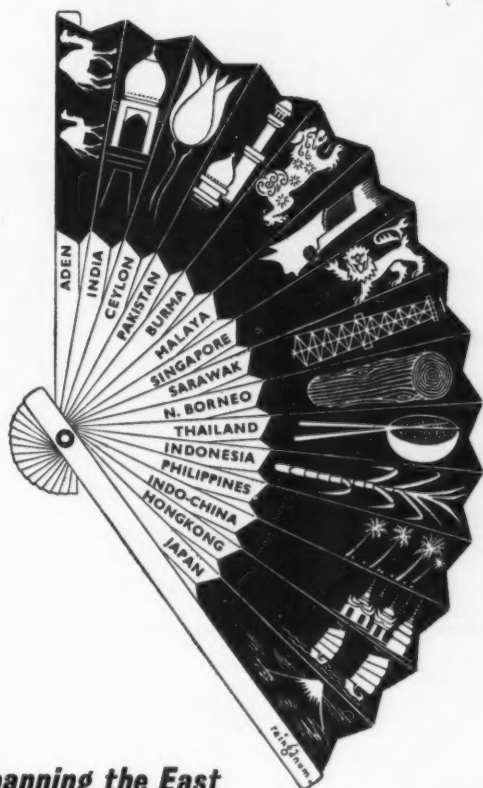
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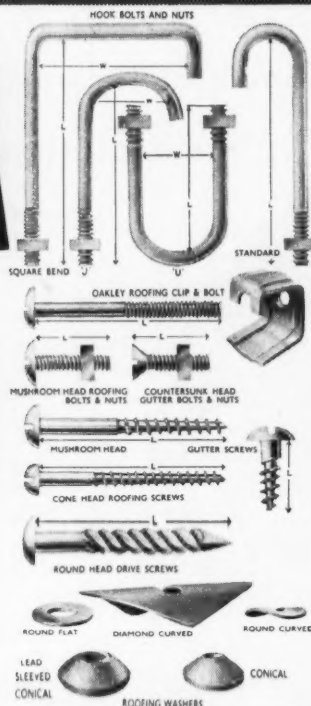
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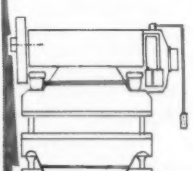
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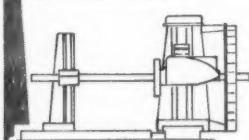
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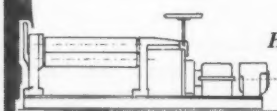
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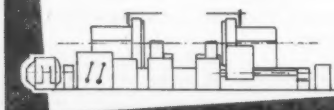
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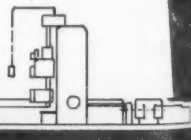
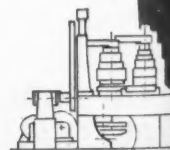
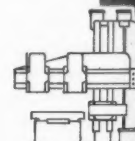
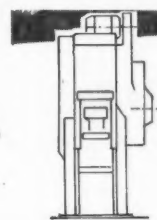
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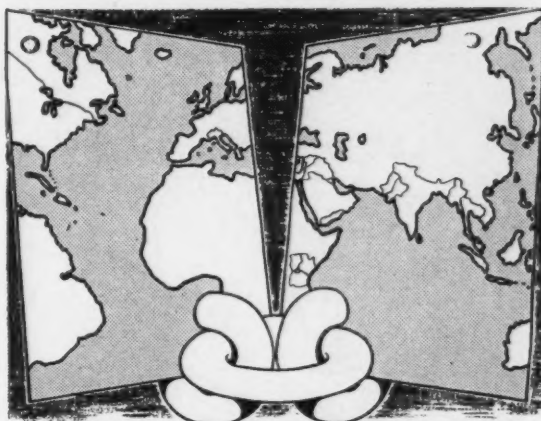
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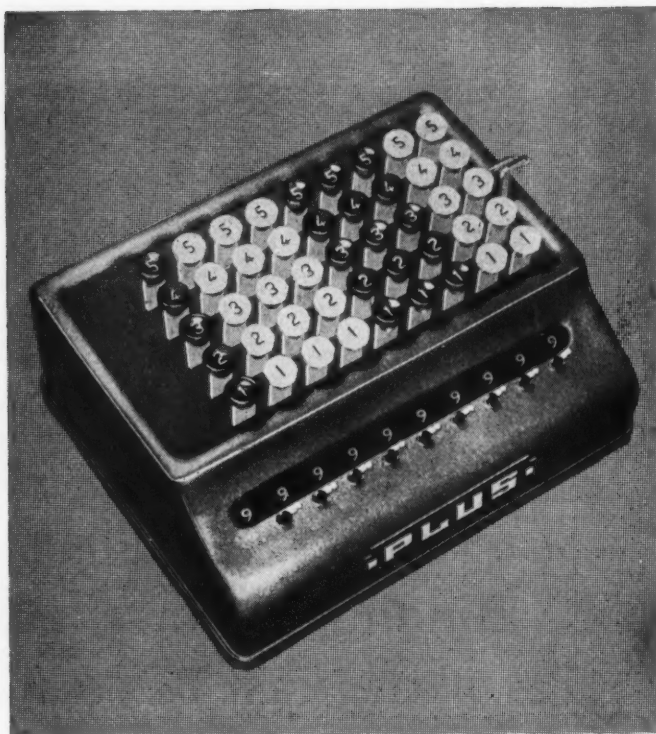
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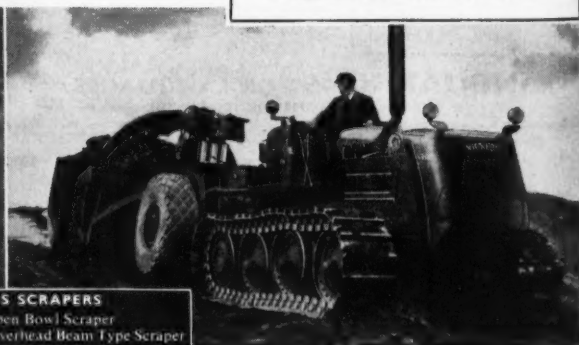
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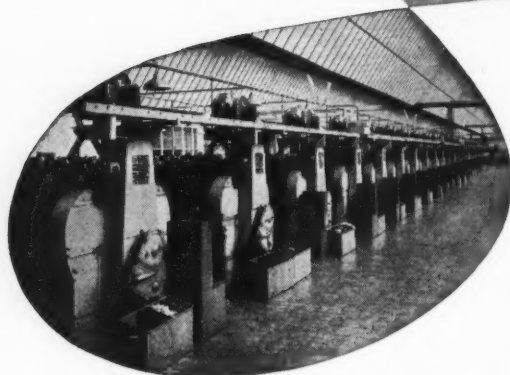
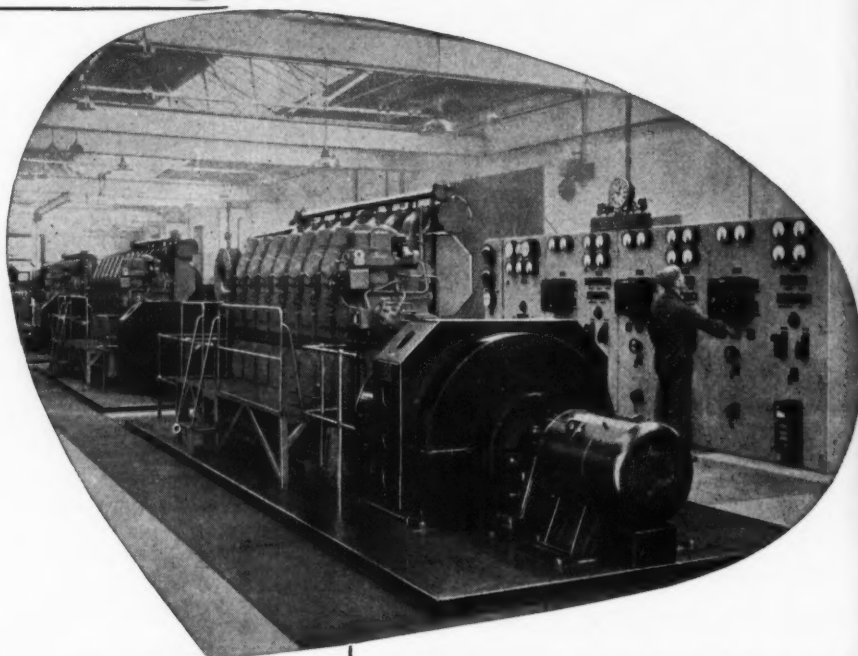
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P. 425

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EASTERN WORLD

London April 1955

Afro-Asian Opportunity

TOWARDS the end of this month, representatives of 30 African and Asian States will meet at Bandung in Indonesia to discuss their common problems. This gathering, which will include countries of very diverse political opinion, does not meet with any set purpose before it, but its sponsors, the five Colombo powers, obviously had it in mind that the countries invited should declare themselves for peace and non-attachment to either of the big power blocs. The presence of China at such a conference will be viewed from some western quarters as undermining the intention from the start. But will it, in fact ?

As we have said in these columns before, China is an Asian country with Asian leanings, and if the underlying intention at Bandung is to create an area of peace, then it will be immeasurably strengthened by the presence of China and more particularly if China can give assurances to the countries of Asia based on the five principles which govern the agreement between her and India.

The countries who will be participating at Bandung are, generally speaking, united in their opposition to colonialism—that is one reason that makes it possible to call them all together ; what the meeting this month must hope to do is to formulate something positive along the lines of neutralism to which most of the participants can subscribe. There is no reason to suppose that China would be against such a move, or that she will alienate feeling and make the conference suspicious of her motives.

The five sponsoring countries do not believe that China presents an aggressive threat to Asia, and they eschew any sort of pact "with teeth." Such an approach as this by the conference as a whole will make nonsense of the South-East Asian Defence Organisation, which appears to the majority in Asia to be an intolerable encroachment by the West in the affairs of the East, and an unnecessary cause of tension. Bandung could produce an effective answer to SEATO.

The dangerous aspect of SEATO is its emphasis on "Communist infiltration." Although infiltration causes some concern to the signatories of the pact, it appears curious to others who are not signatories. A fact which receives scant attention is that the places where it is claimed Communist influence gains strength are those where the influence of the West is most in evidence. The Andhra

elections in India, for example, have shown that the Nehru policy has lessened Communist influence. In places like Siam, Laos, South Viet Nam, Malaya and the Philippines, the increasing sympathy for Communism comes from despair ; not from infiltration but from contamination.

No military pact is adequate enough to cope with this sort of problem ; it could, however, use that problem as an excuse to achieve other ends. Most of the countries which will be represented at Bandung recognise that the resurgence in Asia has far from died down, and it will be part of their task to see that the aspirations of Asia are not frustrated by the West's attempt to prove that any move towards self expression is a victory for the Communist camp in the cold war.

Turmoil in South Viet Nam

WHAT a sorry picture South Viet Nam presents to the world. It is a poor advertisement for "free" Asia. The revolt of the religious sects, Hoa Hao and Cao Dai, against the Prime Minister, Ngo Dinh Diem, is the second attempt to bring about a change of Government in the South since the Geneva Conference.

It is very difficult to sort out from the complex situation a clear reason for the trouble. The two sects, together with another of more political flavour which is up in arms, the Binh Xuyen, are divided among themselves, have little support in the country, and their strength to challenge the Government stems from the large number of troops they control. It is known that they have the backing of the diehard French Colonial element in the country, while Mr. Diem has support and financial aid from the United States.

The Government in Saigon is faced with a dilemma that is not likely to be cleared up in time to present a stable administration to the country before the elections

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are due. It has first to clear away French influence before it can get the support of the people. If it takes aid from the United States its policies become suspect in the eyes of all those who think in terms of real independence; and even if it can clear away these two obstacles, it still has to convince the peasantry that they would be better off if they did not vote for the Viet Minh.

Time is running out, and in the past year Saigon has not shown the slightest glimmer of anything that could help change the minds of the people, who from the very beginning have been certain that the best thing for their country is to support the regime of Ho Chi Minh.

South Moluccas Intrigue?

BECAUSE the Indonesian Government has brought the leaders of the so-called Republic of the South Moluccas to trial does not mean that the last has been heard of it. Something very fishy is going on in this group of spice islands, but what exactly is behind it is not yet clear. No one can say with certainty who these Moluccan republicans are, or what they want. To simply say they want to declare themselves a separate republic is nonsense, for they are not large enough, nor have they the economic, material or political resources to be completely independent.

A number of factors in the affair give cause for legitimate suspicion. The Ambon Islands, which are the hub of the Moluccan troubles, have long been Christianised and were the main recruiting ground for the Dutch colonial army; they are in close proximity to West New Guinea, where the Dutch are maintaining a colonial foothold. The Indonesians claim that much of the strife in the Moluccas is caused by Dutch infiltration from West Irian (West New Guinea).

The renegade republic has departments at The Hague and Rotterdam, as well as an office in New York. And it seems to have adequate financial resources, though where they come from is not certain. The Republic's "Department of Public Information" in the Netherlands is well organised and issues lengthy hand-outs in English. These follow the usual line of accusing the legitimate Government of suppression and atrocities. An appeal to the United Nations on these particular grounds was rejected as interference in Indonesia's sovereign affairs.

The intrigues behind the Moluccas affair may become clearer in time, and it will be no surprise if the whole situation is being organised by those elements who have an interest in the instability of Indonesia—indeed, perhaps, of South-East Asia.

BOMB POLICY

By J. W. T. Cooper (Eastern World Diplomatic Correspondent)

Mr. Nehru, speaking at Nagpur on March 12, said that the manufacture of atomic and hydrogen weapons seems to portend a disastrous conflagration which would engulf entire humanity. India, being part of the larger world, could not escape it, but she was trying her utmost to play her part in lessening tensions and in making the people at large realise that they were real human beings.

(Official Indian report)

IN all the argument and discussion that has taken place in recent weeks about the manufacture of hydrogen bombs no one has stated outright what seems to be most patently obvious—that if both parties to a conflict possess it, the nuclear bomb as a tactical weapon of war is absolutely useless. In any major war each side has an objective, of which military strategy is the servant. The use of hydrogen bombs would not only do away with the necessity of military strategy, it would immediately destroy the motives for which each side resorted to war in the first place.

If, in this world today, one looks for reasons which might be the cause of another world war, the most obvious are: determination on the part of the United States to bring about a retreat of Soviet power; and an effort by the Kremlin to extend Soviet power. The retaliation which the use of the H-bomb, to bring about either objective, would provoke, ensures the complete breakdown of government administration and civil control to such an extent over vast areas of the countries of both sides that the original motive in going to war will have lost its meaning.

It is difficult to imagine any statesman or military strategist undertaking a course of action in the full knowledge that the original purpose can never be realised. And let us make no mistake, if the Communist hierarchy are bent on increasing Soviet power and influence they will not do it through nuclear destruction. We should not credit them with so little political sense as not to know that such a way serves no political purpose.

The British Prime Minister has said that there is no grave danger of war at this time, but that in three or four years when the Soviet Union has produced as many hydrogen weapons as the United States the situation might be more acute. I would submit that the truth is almost the opposite. Parity in the possession of nuclear bombs creates a less dangerous situation for the world as a whole than when one side in an ideological conflict has a preponderance, for then the use of the bomb becomes the means of realising the purpose without fear of retaliation and near annihilation.

What Sir Winston Churchill meant to imply, of course, was that because it was the United States that owned the bulk of the nuclear power in the world there is no fear of war. Can we be so sure of this? With the pathological hatred of Communism at a pitch among Americans, it would be in their interest to use atomic weapons to gain their objective—a reduction of Soviet power—before the Communist world reaches a stage of production which will

render large nuclear devices useless as weapons of war, and leave the Soviet Union superior in "conventional" arms.

Although it is no secret that influential elements in the United States are urging that if America is going to come to physical grips with Communism on terms of superiority, the next year or two is the only time left, it is inconceivable to imagine that America would embark on open nuclear aggression. The danger is that sooner or later the United States may, over situations like Dien Bien Phu or Quemoy and Formosa, create the excuse for meeting what she will call aggression with the atom or hydrogen bomb.

If the situation now is that : (1) as long as America holds the greater weight of nuclear weapons the Soviet side dare not embark on aggression ; (2) when the stage of parity is reached in hydrogen weapons the use of them would serve no coherent purpose ; (3) that madness prevails and they are used to the point of coannihilation ; (4) that if the US engineered a situation as an excuse to use her nuclear power before parity, Britain would not support her—then the British Government's decision to manufacture the hydrogen bomb is based on negative premises.

If the problem that faces the western world is to find the means to curb Communist influence, the way of the H-bomb is the way of despair. The contribution that Britain could make to America's hydrogen deterrent is negligible, but it is not the possibility of adding to deterrence that matters so much as British influence in making the US negotiate

terms of co-existence. To have the H-bomb will not make Britain more independent of American policy; as Sir Winston Churchill has said, it will commit us more deeply to American strategy. Because the bomb, as Mr. Bevan pointed out, is absolute it is in itself policy. An independent and influential alternative to riding all the way to war on the American atom wagon surely lies in embracing a different policy—one not circumscribed by the limitations of nuclear strength. One cannot discuss, in all seriousness, the possibilities of destroying life on this planet as if that in itself were an alternative to a political idea.

It is British diplomatic strength that can play the biggest part in maintaining world peace, not British military or nuclear strength. What would there be to lose if this country renounced nuclear bombs? It could not lessen our chances of survival, it might conceivably increase them for, as things stand at present, Great Britain would certainly be wiped out in a hydrogen war.

When it was announced that Britain was to manufacture the H-bomb, an influential Asian diplomat remarked to me that "the UK must loosen her hold on America's coat tails now, and get on the side of neutralist Asia." This is where the real future of Britain as a great power could lie. The political and moral pressure which Britain and India, supported by the remainder of the Commonwealth and neutral nations of South-East Asia, could bring to bear in world affairs would provide an effective alternative to hydrogen bomb policy.



MAN AND STATESMAN

ASIA IN WASHINGTON

By David C. Williams (Washington)

TWO Asian conferences—that of the SEATO powers in Bangkok in February and that of the Asian and African nations in Bandung on April 18—illustrate a dilemma of American foreign policy. Washington officials privately admit that the SEATO gathering is disappointingly small, including as it does only three Asian nations, but fear the presence at Bandung of Communist China.

Mr. Dulles' visit to Bangkok and his subsequent whirlwind tour of South-East Asia have been hailed by some of his friends here as a triumph for his brand of "shirtsleeves diplomacy." By his blunt and forthright language he is said to have convinced the Asian members of SEATO that they could expect no further commitment of American ground forces and nothing in the shape of economic aid except that negotiated with each country individually. His critics in America draw the conclusion that, having neither money nor soldiers to offer, Mr. Dulles actually did little more on his Asian jaunt than to "show the flag."

If the Chinese Communists view SEATO as a mere parade of "paper tigers," they may have some reason. In spite of its often flamboyant language, the present Administration has been reducing rather than increasing American commitments in the "cold war." It has set its face against American involvement on the mainland of Asia, and is turning instead to the concept of a "mobile reserve" well this side of the Bamboo Curtain. In spite of the brave words which Harold Stassen, head of the Foreign Operations Administration, has spoken in past months about American economic aid to free Asia, here also the watchword is withdrawal rather than advance.

The consequent reduction in the military budget and the sharp limits set upon overseas economic expenditures naturally please the business interests which are so strong in the Eisenhower Administration, and who judge all policies, domestic and foreign, by the degree to which they help to bring budget deficits to an end and usher in an era of tax reductions. These measures also reflect, and derive support from, public weariness with the "cold war" and all its alarms and burdens, and a massive reluctance to be involved in foreign wars. When Eisenhower said a few months ago that "there is no alternative to peace," he reflected the general feeling of his people, and his already great popularity has increased as a result.

It requires two to make peace, however, and some experienced students of China are doubtful that the Peking leaders are prepared to join in the game. In a recent article, Professor John K. Fairbank, head of the programme of Chinese studies at Harvard University, has cited two reasons for doubting that the Chinese Communists can

abandon the "cold war." First, he feels that the internal campaign against American "imperialism" is necessary in order to win from the people acceptance of the heavy sacrifices needed to get China's industrialisation under way. Second, he notes that a strong China—and the Peking Government is increasingly being acknowledged as the strongest China has had in centuries—has traditionally been expansionist, seeking to bring under Chinese tutelage the great areas of Asia which are still marked as "China" on Chinese maps.

Reasonable people here accept the fact that the free Asian nations are inevitably going to seek some sort of relations with Communist China which will, they hope, ensure peace. But they are concerned that this should not go so far as accepting Chinese domination, and fear the strength which China, by far the greatest military power in Asia, may show at the Bandung Conference.

Noting that Prime Minister Nehru has described the Bandung Conference as "essentially an experiment in co-existence," Chalmers M. Roberts, diplomatic correspondent of the influential *Washington Post and Times-Herald*, foresees nevertheless "a real effort to speak up and be heard by those nations which most palpably feel the hot breath of Communism on their necks."

Roberts draws attention to the statement issued on the last day of the SEATO conference, noting that three SEATO powers would be at Bandung, and empowering them "to transmit cordial greetings to the other free countries and to express the hope that out of their conference would come increased assurance that the free nations would remain free and that all peoples would come increasingly to enjoy, in peace, the blessings of liberty." The SEATO Council accordingly "invited a broad sharing of their dedication . . . to uphold the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and to promote self-government and to secure the independence of all countries whose people desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities."

Against both Communism and colonialism—this then is to be the American line at Bandung, and adherence to such a course is hoped for here from such varied countries as Japan, South Viet Nam, Cambodia, Turkey, Ethiopia, and some of the Arab states.

There are many here who wish, however, that the United States had more than rhetoric to offer the African and Asian nations at Bandung. A stronger stand in the United Nations against the remnants of colonialism and support for some such programme of economic aid as SUNFED—the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development—would, it is held, greatly strengthen the hands of America's friends.

THE INNER MONGOLIAN AUTONOMOUS REGION

By O. Edmund Clubb (New York)

WHEN the Inner Mongols failed to side with the Outer Mongols after the Khalkha princes made their declaration of independence at Urga in December, 1911, they clinched the destiny of both groups to remain subordinate to neighbouring powers. Outer Mongolia, as the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR), was incorporated into the Soviet Union's *cordon sanitaire* of protectorates. Inner Mongolia was similarly immobilised in the character of strategic glacis for China, and then Japan. But World War II spurred the massive eastward movement of population, economic power and political interest in the USSR. It also struck off the last chains from the Asian revolution against control by the West. Finally, it radically upset the power balance in the West Pacific. In those circumstances, the strategic values of both Mongolian areas underwent fundamental alteration. It is in Inner Mongolia that, under the administration of the Central People's Government at Peking, the more striking shifts have occurred.

When V-J Day came, the Eastern Inner Mongols (that is, the tribal groups of Western Manchuria) reached out for independence, somewhat in the 1911 Urga pattern, at Wangyehmiao. Their action envisaged a union of Inner and Outer Mongols, reflecting the old Mongol dream of resurrection of an independent Greater Mongolia.

In the circumstances then prevailing, that concept was politically too ingenuous to win acceptance from the potential sources of support. The Soviets had definitely not nurtured the Outer Mongols over two decades to the end that they should ultimately exercise national freedom.

Nor was the USSR actually free to welcome the accession of the Inner Mongols to the MPR at that juncture. Such political hospitality would have instantly brought charges of aggression from the Nanking Government, with which Moscow maintained "correct" relations, and would moreover have fanned the already smouldering fires of American suspicion of Soviet expansionism. The Chinese Communists, for their part, were still technically in a state of collaboration with the Nationalists, with the palladium of power far from their grasp. The Mongol move failed.

The germ of the idea was nevertheless bent to another use, more in accord with contemporary Communist purposes.

On May 1, 1947, there was established at Wangyehmiao (which became "Ulanhot"), the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (IMAR) Government. At its head, instead of the Mongol nationalist Yenbomandu who had headed the 1945 move, was Communist Ulanfu (Yun Tse). Ulanfu had long served with the Chinese Communists at Yen'an, and was obviously regarded by them as a political "trusty." It was consequently clear that the new political entity would follow the established Chinese Communist line. And that line did not equate China's nationalities policy with an optional independence for minorities.

When the IMAR was conceived, a sop was tossed to Mongol dreams. A number of the ardent Mongol nationalists who had participated in the Wangyehmiao attempt were given posts in Ulanfu's Government. And as late as April, 1949, when South China was still to be won by Communist arms, Ulanfu himself claimed IMAR jurisdiction over 11 Leagues and 79 Banners (in more conventional terms, 1,500,000 square kilometres and 11 million people). But the claim could have no practical application at that date, for the capitulation to the Communists of Suiyuan Province, comprising a good part of the territory under reference, did not take place until September 19, 1949. IMAR's actual jurisdiction first ran only in Eastern Inner Mongolia and in Mongol sections of Chahar Province. Instead of 11 million, the population numbered 2,239,000.

After the Central People's Government was inaugurated at Peking on October 1, 1949, building of the IMAR entered a new stage. In early 1950, the IMAR govern-



mental apparatus was transferred "temporarily" from Ulanhot to Kalgan, and it became a "People's" Government. The Peking regime had a transparent purpose in putting the "autonomous" Government so handy to its reach: it was bound that the Mongols should exercise no independent will of their own.

Peking's successes in clamping its authority over the nation at the same time that it fought the UN in Korea and fastened Chinese control on Tibet presumably facilitated development of its Mongol policy in accord with Communist theory. On July 1, 1952, it was announced that the IMAR People's Government had been moved to Kweisui, in Suiyuan. The non-Communist incumbent was promptly eased out of the Suiyuan Chairmanship: on July 21, Ulanfu added that post to his numerous other responsibilities.

At that time, the Olunchun (Tungus) minority group and the Mongol Leagues and Banners remaining outside the formal IMAR boundaries were organised under 13 separate "minority autonomous regional governments." Suiyuan itself was still not included in the IMAR. It would nevertheless appear that after Kweisui's designation as IMAR capital there began a *de facto* extension of IMAR dominion over the outside Mongol groups. Kweisui, like Wangyehmiao before it, significantly donned an old Mongol name—Kokohoto.

Official confirmation of the apparent trend soon followed. By Peking's order of June 21, 1954, Suiyuan and much of Ningsia Province were transferred to the IMAR. The Inner Mongolian empire now embraced, according to a September, 1954, report of an Imar Vice-Chairman, an expanse of 1,100,000 square kilometres; and a contemporary news report put the present population at "over 5,000,000." If smaller than at first envisaged by Ulanfu, the IMAR had nevertheless been substantially enlarged. But in the new order of things the Mongols totalled only about 2,000,000 at most: they had again been submerged in a Chinese majority possessing full rights of representation in the "Mongol" Government. Mongol autonomy was to remain unequivocally in the Chinese pattern.

Revealing events were occurring in the cultural and economic fields. Educational and propaganda efforts were directed towards capture of the minds of the Mongols. Two influences in Mongol thought received special attention—the traditional anti-Chinese attitude of the Mongol race, and lamaistic Buddhism. As Ulanfu put it, "as a result of the extremely savage and cruel oppression of national minorities by pan-Hanism historically, the national minorities (including the Mongols) tend to regard the major nationality (the Hans—i.e., Chinese) with suspicion and to cherish narrow nationalism . . . Even their support for the Communist Party stems from such nationalism. It is necessary to educate them with great patience."

The Chinese Communist Party, of which the Inner Mongolian party organisation is only a sub-bureau, has gone to work "with great patience," but thoroughly, to uproot the Mongols' "narrow nationalism." The pattern of its endeavour is similar to the Soviet prototype. The

Mongols are permitted, even encouraged, to observe certain inconsequential cultural forms, the while they are fitted closely into overall State political and economic plans. Such things as folk dances and customary fairs are utilised to help salve a raw nationalism.

The essential hollowness of the Mongol "autonomy" was demonstrated at the first congress of the IMAR people's delegates, meeting in Kokohoto, July 27 to August 4, 1954. With 369 delegates from 10 "nationalities" present, there came to the congress one Liu Lan-t'ao, representing the Government at Peking, "to give guidance." It was reported that the assembled delegates warmly welcomed this visitation, recognising that it represented the close concern of the Central People's Government for the IMAR. It is hardly surprising in the circumstances that the congress unanimously approved both China's draft constitution and the report of the first half-year's work of the Government headed by Ulanfu. There was little else it could do.

As regards the problems posed by the lamaseries, the Outer Mongolian experience seems to have taught caution. There is in theory freedom of religion. Nevertheless, reports that some lamas have organised medical academies, that others have received plots of land to work, and that lamas have been invited into all strata of Government as advisers or counsellors, signify the trend of the times. The massive foundation of the all-important lamaistic hierarchy of Inner Mongolia is being skilfully undermined. This in itself will bring about political changes of the first magnitude.

IMAR economic developments have been proceeding *pari passu* with political changes, as indicated by last October's report that a new industrial base, including an iron-steel combine and 10 new plants designed to support the growth of heavy industry, is to be constructed with its centre at Paotow, Suiyuan Province. Some of the IMAR's natural resources are of industrial importance: the Ujumuchin Salt Flat produces high-grade salt; there is abundant iron ore in the Lungyen deposit, and coal in the vicinity of Chalai Nor; and the Hsingan Range possesses a rich timber stand. In addition, there are the agricultural lands, and the herds of livestock found on the prairies beyond.

Exploitation of those primary resources is now being undertaken vigorously. Efforts are being bent especially towards increase of the annual timber cut, replenishment of the Mongol herds, reclamation of barren areas and the breaking of new ploughland. With State support, the steady thrust of the Chinese agriculturalist into the Mongol herdsman's pastures has been accelerated.

More important than the physical work of exploitation are the changes in procedure, and even alteration of economic structure. New farm equipment and improved techniques were introduced in agriculture, and the use of fertiliser expanded. Land reform was carried out early. "Agricultural-production mutual-aid teams"—the harbingers of Chinese agricultural collectivisation—made their appearance. In 1952, some of them were advanced into the next stage—"agricultural production cooperatives."

In animal husbandry, alongside anti-epizootic work and the importation of breeding stock from the USSR, there has been a levelling of "feudal" Mongol herding rights and privileges and the extension of "free grazing" in the pasturelands. A newly coined slogan proposed "co-prosperity of humans and cattle," with the implication more that the herds should be cared for on a level nearly equal to that of the herdsman, than that the humans are entitled to better treatment. Current reports depict a close collaboration between those traditional enemies, the agriculturalist and the herdsman. But it is clear besides that both are being caused to discard the practices of the old "private enterprise," and to produce, buy and sell within State programmes and the State trading system. In sum, the Peking brand of socialism has made its debut on the plains of Inner Mongolia.

The communications network is being expanded in support of the politico-economic programmes. One of the 1950 Peking-Moscow agreements provided for the establishment of airlines linking the two countries, and two such services now operate on the routes Peking-Mukden-Harbin-Chita and Peking-Kalgan-Ulan Bator-Irkutsk. Of much greater importance is the present construction of two railways, one reaching southward from Paotow (the western terminus of the Peking-Suiyuan line) to connect with the projected Lanchow-Urumchi-Alma Ata trunk line, the other branching northward from Tsining (about 225 kilometres east of Paotow) to tie into the Soviet-Mongol railway system at Ulan Bator (Urga).

Work on the first line was begun in 1953 and is reputedly nearing completion. Agreement governing the joint construction and operation of the Tsining-Ulan Bator line by China, the MPR and the USSR was announced on October 12, 1954, when the Khrushchev mission was in Peking. It was stated, however, that the original agreement respecting that project had been reached on September 15, 1952, which was when the ultimate disposition of the Chinese-Changchun Railway in Manchuria was decided. Construction work on the Tsining line certainly began some time before October, 1954, for a Chinese journalist's account of December, 1954, purported that passenger service was already operating to Wentuerhmiao, 175 kilometres north of Tsining. Through traffic on the line, which will bring Peking approximately 1,000 kilometres closer to Moscow than the old route via Manchuli, is scheduled to start this year.

China's existing railway link with the Soviet Union, that is through Manchuria, is soon to be supplemented by two direct routes traversing the deep interior of Asia. One will connect Central China with Soviet Central Asia by way of Sinkiang, the other will link North China with Soviet Central Siberia via Inner and Outer Mongolia. The latter system will presumably be supported eventually by the Baikal-Amur Magistral, projected to reach the Soviet Pacific Coast by passing north of Lake Baikal. The IMAR will be tied in with both of the new Chinese systems.

Those railways will sustain the economic reorientation

Collector's Treasure

A hundred year old Chain Spoon from Rhodesia. The chain is about 7ft. long and is carved from a single piece of wood. It is undoubtedly a ceremonial spoon.



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LIPTON'S TEA

Connoisseur's Pleasure

of China away from the seafaring nations that once dominated the West Pacific, and towards China's ally—the Soviet Union. That ponderous readjustment was begun in 1950. It entered its formal economic stage with the launching of the first Chinese Five-Year Plan in 1953. The character, and insistence, of Asian economic demands (and, particularly, those of China) had an implicit recognition in Khrushchev's steering of the USSR back into the workshops of heavy industry.

The military significance of these new developments is manifest. China is being put into a strong position to tap Soviet economic strength, such as that of the heavy-industry combine embracing Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk. The same transportation systems that move heavy machinery and Central Asia's products, however, can as readily carry war material and troops. The columns of Soviet-Mongol mechanised units and cavalry that thrust across the Mongolian plains in 1945 against the Japanese military position followed what is the shortest direct route from the Baikal strategic base to the Yellow River mouth on the Chihli Gulf. Now a railway is to replace what was once a route for camel caravans. This would be a factor in the strategy of any future war that might take place in East Asia between the Peking-Moscow Axis and a West Pacific sea-air power.

Inner Mongolia, long only a strategic glacis, is at last being brought into the modern age, with a positive function of considerable potential significance.

CONSERVATIVE JAPAN

By our Tokyo Correspondent

MORE than sixty per cent. of Japan's electorate voted for Conservative parties in the general elections on February 27. 297 Conservative deputies, only slightly less than the figure of 304 of the previous Diet, were returned to the House of Representatives, out of a total of 467 elected. Following are the tabulated results of the elections which were held with the second best participation after the war. Almost 76 per cent. of the registered voters exercised their voting rights:

	New Diet	Old Diet	Percentage in New Diet
Democrats (Hatoyama) ...	185	124	36.57
Liberals (Yoshida-Ogata) ...	112	180	26.61
Left Wing Socialists (Suzuki) ...	89	74	15.35
Right Wing Socialists ...	67	61	13.86
(Kawakami)			
Labour Farmer ...	4	5	0.97
Communists ...	2	1	1.98
Others ...	8	11	4.66
Vacancies ...	—	11	—

It was a quiet election. The ban on loudspeaker vans, the shouting of candidates' names, house-to-house canvassing and similar restrictions proved effective. The campaign stood out in a marked contrast to the noisy and irritating electioneering in 1953.

The people of Japan have voted overwhelmingly for a Conservative Government. The landslide which hit the Liberals did not affect the general conservative inclinations of the people though the gains of the Socialists somewhat scared leaders of business and industries. The Left Wing Socialists increased their seats from 74 to 89, the Right Wing from 61 to 67. This may be attributed to a certain amount of social unrest in districts where the previous Government had failed to counteract sufficiently the results of the rigorous policy of deflation. In addition, the withdrawal of almost 50 Communist candidates helped the Left Wing Socialists to increase their votes. Mr. Hatoyama's Democrats have scored the 50 per cent. increase in their pre-election strength at the expense of the Liberal Party of Mr. Yoshida. The Liberals still remain the second largest party in the House since the re-unification of the two Socialist parties has not yet—at the time of writing—gone beyond the stage of pledges and promises. A prominent foreign observer in Tokyo described the party situation aptly by saying that during the campaign the two Conservative parties did everything to look different for the voter though they are not divided over policy but solely over personalities. The two Socialist parties did everything to appear alike to the public whilst in fact they are differing sharply on principles.

The new House will face a number of questions both domestic and foreign which are of grave importance to Japan's future. There are the relations with the Soviet Union and with China, cooperation with the countries of South-East Asia and the maintenance of the protective friendship of the United States. There are also pressing domestic issues such as the budget, rearmament, and, on the whole, re-orientation of Japan towards her traditional structure. The growth of the Socialists by 20 seats in the House prevented a two-thirds majority of the Conservatives. This means that the revision of the Constitution

will not be easy. The number of votes the Socialists obtained will prevent Diet authorisation to amend the Constitution as the first step to a referendum. Revision of the anti-armament clause of the Constitution has become rather pressing in order to legalise the present rearmament of Japan. In order to maintain respect and authority of the Constitution it has become necessary to amend it and to end the evasion and a good deal of cynicism and mental acrobatics over the letter and the spirit of the Constitution. Industrial circles in Japan had counted strongly on quick rearmament, after revision of Article Nine of the Constitution.

The first task of the newly elected Diet on March 18 when it convenes will be the election of a Prime Minister. Among the three possible candidates—Ogata of the Liberals, Suzuki of the Left Wing Socialists and Hatoyama of the victorious Democrats—Mr. Hatoyama will most probably be entrusted with the formation of his second cabinet though his Democratic Party does not command an absolute majority in the House. The Press urges a supra-partisan approach to the central problems such as diplomacy, Constitution and economic rehabilitation. It remains to be seen whether the politicians will be able to bury their hatchets and to accept the challenging responsibility of the situation. There are symptoms of growing political consciousness in some electoral districts where candidates who were involved in last year's scandals and Diet riots, have been swept aside by the voters. In other districts, however, such candidates have been returned to the House. As a result, the course taken by the new Diet might not be as coordinated and purposeful as would be desirable for Japan.

During the campaign which preceded the election it became increasingly clear that the Democrats under Hatoyama were riding high with the people of Japan. The prophets who predicted a decisive victory for Hatoyama were right. How did it happen that the man who had to give up the leadership of the Liberal Party in 1946 gained such impressive popularity within the short time since he took office in the beginning of December last? The electorate obviously saw the need for a change from within. They did not give up their Conservative attitude, but they were tired and exasperated by the stubborn attempts of the Liberals to maintain political leadership at any cost. It is safe to say that if Mr. Yoshida had resigned earlier, the defeat of his Liberal Party would not have been as resounding as it was now. This, of course, ought to provide food for thought for the now triumphant Democrats, too. Mr. Ichiro Hatoyama himself obtained the largest number of votes ever received by any single candidate since the end of World War II: 149,541 voted him again into office. The trend for "new brooms" was supported by the personal touch Mr. Hatoyama gave to his electioneering. Though it must have been very demanding on the physically handicapped man, he appeared before his public in a way that was a deliberate contrast to Mr. Yoshida's harsh and brusque manner. Yoshida's aloofness and lack of sense for domestic public relations had estranged large circles. His personal interference with judicial procedure during the shipping scandals, in the beginning of 1954, did not add to his or his Party's popularity. Consequently, Mr. Hatoyama's approach, sensing and utilising the sentiments of

the public, made his campaign a full success. All his speeches reiterated the same objects—normalisation of relations with China and the Soviet Union, increased trade with China, clean politics and, foremost, "independence." The results of the elections were not only a personal victory for Mr. Hatoyama. Democratic candidates obtained more votes, on the whole, than any other individuals.

Prominent among the newly elected are Mr. Hisato Ichimada, former Governor of the Bank of Japan and Finance Minister since December last, when Mr. Yoshida handed the Government to Mr. Hatoyama; Mr. Tatsunoske Takasaki, Mr. Hatoyama's President of the Economic Council Board; Mr. Shinichi Matsumoto, former Ambassador to Great Britain; Vice-Admiral Zenshiro Hoshina, Military Adviser to the Democratic Party and one of the driving spirits behind Japan's rearmament. The number of women elected decreased remarkably. Only eight were returned to the House. This is a far cry from the 30 seats they held at one time in the Legislative. Two women members who were re-elected, Mrs. Ichiko Kamichika for the Left Wing Socialists and Miss Shizue Yamaguchi for the Right Wing Socialists, gave as reason for the decline that the voters blamed the women members of the Diet for most of the disgraceful Diet riots last summer. This might well be the case, though the underlying cause is Japan's trend to revert to its traditional conservatism. The return, too, of a number of Liberals who were linked with last year's shipping and finance scandals is a further indication how strong the hold of traditional and territorial loyalty is on the minds of many voters.

Within the Conservative camp, the situation is now reversed from the results of the previous general elections in 1953. Then the Liberals had 199 seats and those now consolidated as the Democrats held 111. During the two years' tenure of the last Diet, several cases of shifting loyalties occurred. It will now be up to the Democrats not to repeat the mistake of the Liberals, and undermine their Conservative partners, but to offer an opportunity for cooperation with a view to implementing the election pledges for independence. The new Government will have to show a serious attempt to adjust the policies of Japan according to the needs of the country.

JAPANESE-BRITISH TRADE DISCUSSIONS

The discussions between the leading members of the Association for the Promotion of International Trade, Japan and Mr. Roland Berger, Director of the British Council for the Promotion of International Trade, have been concluded in Tokyo. The two organisations agreed to cooperate closely in the future on trade questions affecting Britain and Japan and plans have been made for the British Council and the Japanese Association to exchange trade enquiries and offers with a view to stimulating trade between the two countries. The two organisations are of the opinion that the continuation of the embargo on exports to the Communist countries is causing economic harm to both Japan and Britain in limiting export possibilities in the very items which are these countries' major exports, whilst having little or no economic effect on the countries against which the embargo is supposed to be directed. The embargo is, in any case, regarded as ineffective, according to the facts and the experiences of the past. The Japanese and British organisations consider that there is a real danger that

EAST AND WEST

(QUARTERLY)

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the embargo may result in permanent loss of markets for certain commodities in the export of which both Japan and Britain are vitally interested.

Both organisations condemn the operations of COCOM (Consultative Group Cooperation Committee)—the semi-secret body operating from Paris—as subjecting the commerce of the non-Communist world to decisions over which neither the respective Parliaments nor trade circles in the countries affected have any control. The Japanese Association and the British

Council for the Promotion of International Trade take the view that with the ending of the Korean War and the successful conclusion of the Geneva Conference, there can no longer remain any justification for maintaining against China export restrictions which do not apply in the case of Russia and the countries of the People's Democracies. Both bodies have agreed to exchange information and opinions in the future with a view to establishing normal commercial relations with China, Soviet Union and the other countries.

AUSTRALIAN POLICY IN S.-E. ASIA

By Alan Barcan (Newcastle, Australia)

THE period between the Indo-China cease-fire last August and the Bangkok meeting of the eight signatories to the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty witnessed further developments in Australia's policy in the East.

The main stepping stones in this process were the Collective Defence Treaty signed at Manila, September 8, 1954, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference of early February, 1955, and the Bangkok meeting of last February. The Australian Prime Minister's journeyings to Holland and the United States following the London Conference were additional steps in the formulation and reformulation of Australian policy.

An appreciation of the London Conference of Prime Ministers published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* stressed that Britain had reached the limit of her defence commitments in South-East Asia and that Australia and New Zealand would have to "put teeth into the SEATO pact" and play a bigger part in Malaya. From the British Commonwealth viewpoint, Australia is the dominant power in South-East Asia, but the question is: Is Australia prepared to play the role the situation demands? The very posing of such a question suggests something of the uncertainty behind Australian policy in South-East Asia.

The truth is that there is no strong internal impetus determining Australian policy in this part of the world. There is, for instance, no strong tendency for Australian capital to look to South-East Asia as a field for investment. Some Australian capital is placed in Malaya, but the exact amount is hard to determine, for much of it is invested indirectly, and by individuals. Indeed, Australia is short of capital. She is still going through a period of industrial growth, stimulated first by the artificial protection and special needs of World War II and more recently by a remarkable inflow of English and American capital.

This migrant capital is directed predominantly to industrial enterprise rather than to governmental loans for developmental work as in the past. But as yet Australia does not look to the East for markets for her industrial products. Thus a second form of impetus which might have influenced Australian policy in the East hardly exists. The market for Australia's new industries is still predominantly within the country. The post-war boom continues, and demand within Australia is good. Post-war immigration has widened the home market. In addition the pre-war favoured position of British industry in Australia has nearly vanished; Australian secondary industry holds a greater proportion of the local market, and high tariffs or special restrictive legislation guard this home market from the outside world.

There is no change foreseeable in the future. Australian secondary industry would be hard-pressed to compete in South-

East Asia if that ever became necessary. The high standard of living, the policy of high wages, means that Australian manufactured goods are costly. Japan, the other industrial nation in this part of the world, could outbid Australia for Asian trade. Indeed, Australian industry fears Japan as a competitor in the home market.

Australian primary produce still looks to England above all for its outlet. In the Far East (Australians still find the term Near North strange) Japan is important as a purchaser of Australian wool. Otherwise, Australia has no important market in South-East Asia for primary produce.

With a population of 9m., Australia, despite her large area and economic development, is one of the smallest nations in South-East Asia. She can maintain three permanent battalions. It would be against all Australian tradition, and politically unpopular, to send units of the militia (short-term compulsory trainees) to serve outside Australia in peacetime. Even in wartime this is a delicate problem. Full employment, the shortage of labour in all branches of the economy, renders it difficult to increase the size of the permanent forces (volunteers).

Australian public opinion is extremely quiescent about South-East Asia. There is, indeed, little public interest in foreign policy. Perhaps this is one effect of 14 years of prosperity. Another cause of this apathy is the noticeable weakness of voluntary associations in the Australian social structure. They are relatively few in number and weak in influence. Two pressure groups which have expressed views on Asian affairs recently are the Returned Soldiers' League and certain trade unions. The R.S.L. has been critical of renewed Japanese activity in this part of the world. The Waterside Workers' Federation and the Seamen's Union have resolved not to assist the shipment of troops and munitions to Malaya, but it is one thing for a Communist-influenced leadership to sponsor resolutions. It remains to be seen whether rank and file unionists would back up a political strike. They did in 1937 over Japan and 1947 over Indonesia. But the intellectual and political climate has since changed.

Apart from this, Australian public opinion on policy in the East consists largely of the views of leader-writers on the main newspapers. Politicians rarely express any views on foreign policy. Intellectuals occasionally do, but they run the risk, if they advance any unorthodox ideas, of abuse from parliamentarians or certain sections of the Press.

Only very occasionally comes evidence that the Australian people in general have views about Asia and its peoples. It is apparent that anti-Japanese feeling is still strong in the country. A Japanese baseball team visiting Australia in November, 1954, had to abandon its tour because of lack of public interest. Resentment is from time to time expressed about the activities

of Japanese pearlers off the North Coast and Japanese fishers off the East Coast. The work of the Japanese War Graves mission in New Guinea was criticised. The two factors at work here are relics of wartime hostilities (Japan was the main source of Australian war casualties, and many Australians were Japanese prisoners) and a continuing clash of economic interests.

But most Australians live on the nether side of their continent. They do not really feel that South-East Asians are their neighbours. They have had little personal contact with Asians, apart from the Japanese in recent years. The immigration policy has sheltered Australia. There are some Australianised Chinese living in the cities, but boom conditions have reduced racial antagonisms within the country.

Australian interests in South-East Asia are thus predominantly strategic. The unpopulated nature of Australia's north and north-west, the rise of Communist China as a military power, the revival of Japan, the withdrawal of Britain—such military and strategic factors are the main ones operative. The issues present themselves mainly at a governmental level.

Australia has had a foreign policy in South-East Asia forced on her. She has not sought a leading role in this area. Her policy aims at involving Britain and the United States as military guarantors against Communist States (China) and even non-Communist (Japan). But the decline in British strength in this part of the world, for long concealed, is now obvious with the advent of Communist China; from 1954, Indo-China reveals the obvious weakness of French power; the Dutch are out of Indonesia and have no great strength in West New Guinea. How far can the Americans be involved? How far can Australia herself play an independent part?

Australia was eager to see the SEATO Pact established. The ANZUS Pact was a guarantee, originally, against Japan. SEATO was to guarantee the area farther south against the spread of Communism. Both pacts indicate something of the increasing inclination of Australian policy towards America. In the first, Australia and New Zealand joined with America to the exclusion of Britain. In the second, a clear instance of the influence of US objectives on Australian policy is revealed in the question of the special definition of aggression.

When the originating eight-power conference was held in Manila in September, 1954, the United States made it clear in the "Understanding of the United States of America" attached to the treaty that "its recognition of the effect of aggression and armed attack and its agreement with reference thereto" (to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes) "apply only to Communist aggression" (the commitment in the case of other aggression was merely to consult). In the Australian Parliament on August 10, 1954, the Minister for External Affairs (Mr. Casey) had stressed that the proposed Pact "should be directed against aggression, and to support the independence of States against external threat from any source." But, in view of the United States' interpretation, Australia was forced to take a similar attitude. Australia could not accept a greater commitment than the United States.

Hence in his speech on the second reading of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, October 27, 1954, Mr. Casey said:

"The Australian Government considers that, in the world as it is today and with the situation that confronts us in this region, the primary purpose of the Treaty is to combat Communism. This is the view also of the United States Government. . . . Resistance to Communism is the immediate objective of the Treaty and it is for this principal purpose that the Australian Government is prepared to commit itself to this Treaty."

At the same time Australia is supporting British strength in the region, and is to a certain degree taking over certain of

Britain's responsibilities. The transfer of the Cocos Islands to Australia at the end of 1954 was a small indication of increasing Australian commitments in this area. That Australian policy in South-East Asia is in transition can be seen in the major strategic change introduced in the military training of both permanent troops and the compulsory trainees. From January, 1955, their training became predominantly for jungle warfare rather than open war.

But it is in connection with the defence of Malaya that the shift is most obvious. For some time it has been becoming apparent in the obscurity of Australian foreign policy that the Government is preparing to assume military obligations in Malaya. Indeed, the principle of Australian aid was established in 1950 when a transport and a bomber squadron of the RAAF were sent to Singapore (the former was subsequently transferred to Korea). At the time the Prime Minister said that "Malaya is a key point in the strategic region of which Australia is a main support area."

Some misgivings have been expressed about the role of Australian troops in Malaya. Just as the distinction between "aggression" and "Communist aggression" has coloured the SEA Defence Treaty so the distinction between "Communist aggression" and "Communist subversion" has also arisen.

According to Guy Harriott, *Sydney Morning Herald* correspondent in Malaya, Australian troops "will be regarded not as reinforcements in the war against the Malayan Communist guerillas, but as part of the garrison of Malaya" (February 11, 1955). The *Herald* itself argued that they would be "helping to protect their own country and their allies against Communist imperialism, of which the bandits in Malaya are the advance guard." The Melbourne *Sun* stressed that "in the interests of our own security and the preservation of good relations with our Asian neighbours we should not do anything which might be thought to identify Australia with the internal policy of colonial administration under criticism in the East."

The Formosan crisis of February, 1955, again revealed the relative obscurity of Australian commitments in South-East Asia. In his speech on the SEA Collective Defence Treaty (October, 1954), Mr. Casey pointed out that both Formosa and Hong Kong were excluded from the scope of the Treaty. He reiterated on January 25th, 1955, that "Australia would not become involved in the defence of Formosa." Yet it is clear that Australia could be committed to assist America in Formosa under the ANZUS Pact.

The obscurity of Australian policy reflects the ambiguity of her position in South-East Asia. Geographically she is important, demographically she is weak. Her economic interests are limited, her strategic interests are great. At home she is a strong industrialised power. But she looks inwards, and has done so for many decades.

The stalling for time must soon end. It is becoming imperative to proclaim that the basic principles of Australian policy in this part of the world should be defined. The cautious statements of the past cannot suffice much longer. One basic principle is that of support for Britain in suppressing Communism in Malaya. Another is that of maintaining the goodwill of the Asian neighbours of Australia. Yet another is that of friendship with the country without whom Australia's defence, under present social conditions, is impossible—the United States. Australia is plagued also by the general conflict between military and political-economic solutions which afflicts western policy.

In the next few years Australia will be trying to reconcile these principles.

CEYLON'S SEVEN YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

By Gamini Navaratne (Colombo)

ON February 4, 1948, Ceylon became independent after nearly 400 years of foreign rule. Many things have happened during that period. There have been successes as well as failures, rights and wrongs, and opportunities seized as well as missed. But taken all in all these seven years have been years of solid achievement.

Two things stand out clearly. The British experiment of democratic government for Ceylon has worked, and the democratic way of life, with all that it connotes, has taken firm root in the island.

Secondly, Ceylon is no longer a cipher in world affairs. Her voice is now heard abroad and listened to with deference. The Colombo Plan, the visit of Queen Elizabeth, the association of Colombo Powers and the world tour of Sir John Kotelawala, the Prime Minister, have all helped to put Ceylon on the map.

The association of Colombo Powers (India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon) was conceived by Sir John Kotelawala, who invited the Prime Ministers of these countries last year for talks on Asian problems, especially the Indo-China War. The world today has accepted the Colombo Powers as a great force for spreading international understanding and peace. This five-nation association will take on a more substantial form in the 30-nation Afro-Asian Conference which will be held in Indonesia this month (April). They will be speaking for more than half of humanity.

Sir John's round-the-world trip which lasted 51 days and covered nine nations—Italy, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Japan, the Philippines and Indonesia was, as he called it, a goodwill tour. But in Washington he did not fail to tell officials at the Pentagon of the unimaginative way they are handling the Battle Act.

Ceylon has been left out of the US aid programme because she sells rubber to Communist China in exchange for rice. Several other countries, including Britain, trade with Communist countries, but they continue to receive aid. Sir John pointed out this anomaly to the Americans. He also told them that it was America which refused a fair price for rubber that drove Ceylon to the expedient of trading with China.

There are indications that the Prime Minister's visit has helped to effect a change in the US policy. Ceylon is likely to receive dollar aid towards the end of this year. But first the direct shipment of rubber to China will have to stop. This explains the three-way trade agreement between Burma, China and Ceylon now being formulated. Under this agreement, Ceylon will ship rubber to Burma, who will then re-ship it to China.

Perhaps no Premier has travelled abroad so extensively as Sir John. He has visited practically every country in Asia, Western Europe and North America. Travelling is part of his philosophy. He believes in personal contacts between leaders to promote understanding. It was this belief that made him summon the first Colombo Powers Conference. It was also this belief that made him go to India last year for talks with Prime Minister Nehru on the future of the 900,000 Indians in

Ceylon. And he came back with a solution to this problem which had baffled leaders of both countries for 25 years.

Wherever he went he has been a spokesman for resurgent Asia, winning allies for the people of this vast under-developed region in their fight against poverty and disease. He has also helped to publicise Ceylon's foreign policy of co-existence and non-involvement in power blocs, which is also the policy of most Asian nations.

But it is in internal affairs that these seven years of independence have been years of achievement. Today, 1,600,000 children representing 85 per cent. of those of school-going age are attending the island's 7,000 schools. A few years ago there were only 5,600 schools with 850,000 children attending them. In no country in Asia is the percentage so high. Credit for this remarkable achievement must go to the bold experiment of free education from the kindergarten to the university conceived by a Ceylonese Minister of Education. A residential university with accommodation for several thousands has also been established to meet the demand for higher education.

But free education has not been without its evils. It has brought to being a large class of persons with the "white-collar mentality," trained for nothing else than office work, while the country is in urgent need of farmers, technicians, doctors and engineers. The standard of education, too, has gone down. To counteract that the Government decided to make the national languages—Sinhalese and Tamil, jointly referred to as *Swabasha*—the media of instruction in schools from next year onwards.

In the sphere of health, malaria, till recently the country's chief health hazard, has been almost completely wiped out. Tuberculosis and other diseases are being combated with the latest discoveries in medical science, more hospitals have been built (there are 269 now), there are more doctors and nurses and better facilities for patients. Four thousand milk feeding centres throughout the island supply free milk to children and mothers. Financial assistance and encouragement is being given to Ayurveda—an effective system of medicine widely practised in India and Ceylon from ancient times. These, together with improved housing and better sanitation, have helped to halve the death rate.

This triumph carries in itself the seeds of a great problem. In seven years the island's population (8,100,000 in 1954) has increased by over a million—a million additional citizens to feed, to house, to clothe and to educate. So far the country's productivity has kept ahead of the rising population, but it is a moot point how long this lead will be maintained. Any slackening of the pace of development will lead to a lowering of the already low standards of living.

In this battle for increased production the multi-purpose project at Gal Oya and other major irrigational and colonisation schemes in various parts of the island play a vital role. Over 125,000 acres of new land have been opened up, adding to the large acreage already under cultivation. Rice production has been increased, especially after the Japanese method of

cultivation was introduced, the country now producing half her requirements (rice is still rationed). Thousands of families have been found new homes and jobs under these schemes.

The expansion in productivity has been made possible to a great extent by the tea industry, which has enjoyed boom conditions. Production in 1954 was 366m. pounds, as against an average of 230m. pounds before the war. But while the tea industry has seen an increase in yields as well as price, both the rubber and the coconut industry have had to contend with falling prices and falling yields. In the case of the rubber industry the low yields are mainly due to slaughter-tapping during the war. Programmes for the rehabilitation of both industries are under way.

Work on the first stage of the hydro-electric scheme has been completed, thus providing cheap power for domestic and industrial use. The Colombo harbour development project is nearing completion. When completed it will be one of the best ports in the world, with modern facilities for handling cargo and passengers. This project as well as stage two of the hydro-electric scheme is being financed by loans from the World Bank and the London money market.

The Government industrial undertakings have, however, not been as successful as at first expected. Many of the State factories opened soon after independence have now been closed. Only the cement factory in North Ceylon has shown any substantial progress. It has now been decided to hand over those industries which are running at a loss to private enterprise. Technical assistance is being sought from Japan and the West for this purpose.

Other landmarks in the development of the country are the establishment of the State-subsidised Ceylon Shipping Line this year, the expansion of foreign trade, the "Ceylonisation" of employment in foreign firms, the establishment of the Central Bank, and the setting up of an island-wide network of co-operative societies and rural development societies which have

helped to bring the fruit of independence within the reach of everyone.

The years after independence have seen the departure, one by one, of Englishmen who had served the country well for many years. There are none now in the field of education, in the Army and in the medical service, only one—Sir Allan Rose, the Chief Justice—remains in the legal sphere. He, too, will retire in June. The last British Governor-General, Lord Soulbury, left Ceylon late last year. There are still a few, however, engaged in the plantation industries and in trade, but they also seem to be in two minds—to stay or not to stay.

There were two general elections since 1948. In both, the United National Party, led first by Mr. D. S. Senanayake, Ceylon's first Premier, and then by his son, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, were elected with a big majority. Opposed to the UNP are several other parties—the Freedom Party, the Tamil Congress, the Marxists and the Communists—but they have a following only in urban areas.

In local government there has been an unfortunate tendency to curb the powers of local authorities. Abuses of their powers rather than other factors have been mainly responsible for it. They have now united to resist any further encroachment on their powers by the Government.

The years ahead are not all smooth sailing for Ceylon. There are many urgent problems awaiting solution, the first being the question of increasing production to meet the increasing population. Employment will have to be found for those already unemployed as well as large numbers who leave school each year. The Housing Minister's plans to build homes will have to be pursued with greater vigour.

Lastly, the Government must act with caution, tact and firmness to overcome the waves of communal ill-feeling that are sweeping the country, since all the gains made under independence may be lost if the country gets embroiled in communal strife.

CEYLON TO DROP ENGLISH

IN twenty-five years' time there will be few people in Ceylon who would be able to read, write or speak English fluently—a surprising situation in a country where today a greater percentage of the people are conversant with English than in any other non-white nation in Asia.

This is the implication of the recent Cabinet decision to make the national languages—Sinhalese and Tamil, jointly referred to as Swabasha—the media of instruction in all schools up to the school leaving stage from 1957. Later, other higher examinations will also be conducted in Swabasha. Science subjects alone will, however, be taught in English for some time to come.

This major change is in keeping with the accepted policy of the Government to make Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages of the country.

The Cabinet decision was preceded by several years of agitation and controversy. It was stated in support that now Ceylon was independent it was but fitting that the national languages, which had hitherto been "relegated to the kitchen," be given their due place. These Swabasha supporters pointed to the examples of India and Burma—other recently emancipated nations—which have decided to carry on the administration in their national languages. Burma in fact made this change overnight. As a first step they called for an immediate switch over to Swabasha in schools.

They contended that the present system of education was tending to produce a white-collar class ill-suited to undertake the tasks of national development. It was said that the change to Swabasha would remedy this defect and also provide new avenues of employment to the large number of unemployed persons. (A recent survey by the Central Bank puts the figure of the unemployed at 540,000.)

This group comprised the more nationalist-minded people, many of whom were also Buddhists by religion. Opposed to them were a group, contemptuously termed by the former as the "microscopic minority," who said the change-over to Swabasha at this juncture would have adverse effects on the country.

They argued that the change was premature, especially because there were not enough text-books and teachers for the purpose. This was especially so in the case of Sinhalese, which unlike Tamil, was used only in Ceylon and was not well-developed. They claimed that in any case it would lower the standard of education and cut Ceylon off from the main stream of English culture.

The present decision is a compromise, and will satisfy the moderate elements in both camps. But it is to be hoped that in the process of reasserting her rights as a nation Ceylon would not do away entirely with a world language like English.

CONFLICTS OF POWER IN INDONESIA

By Justus M. van der Kroef (Michigan State College)

IN the closing months of 1954 a major political crisis rocked the Indonesian Government, which appeared for a while to result in the end of the cabinet of Premier Ali Sastroamijoyo. The immediate cause of the crisis was the withdrawal by one of the Government parties, the mildly conservative *Persatuan Indonesia Rajah* (Greater Indonesia Party—PIR), of its three ministers in the cabinet. The decision to withdraw the PIR ministers had been made as early as July 21, 1954, by the party's executive council, but had not actually been implemented because two of the PIR ministers, Wongsonegoro (Vice-Premier and Minister of State Welfare) and Roosseno (Communications) believed that their resignation would bring the cabinet down, while, in their opinion, there was yet the opportunity to continue its existence through a new programme of constructive policies. In the end the three PIR ministers did withdraw, however, causing a split in the party. The PIR group severing its connection with the present Government was led by Tadjuddin Noor and Hazairin (former PIR Minister of Home Affairs in the Ali cabinet), the other PIR faction which continued to support the cabinet was headed by Wongsonegoro. In Indonesia's provisional parliament the Noor-Hazairin faction has the greater number of PIR deputies, but Roosseno subsequently returned to the cabinet as Minister of Economic Affairs upon the resignation of Iskaq Tjokrohadisurjo, whose policies had been one of the major reasons of the cabinet crisis. At the same time other Government parties either voiced their concern over present policies or threatened to withdraw their ministers. Even within the Premier's own party, the *Partai Nasional Indonesia* (National Indonesian Party—PNI) there were some who thought the cabinet should resign. Among the Government parties criticism appears to have been particularly strong in two Muslim groups, *Nahdatul Ulama* (NU) and the *Partai Serikat Islam Indonesia* (United Islam Party—PSII), both of which had earlier submitted a memorandum demanding certain reforms. NU had, and still has, three cabinet posts and the PSII two. As a result of the cabinet reshuffle NU gave up the Agrarian Affairs portfolio and moved over to the more important post of Home Affairs. The new Communications Minister is Dr. A. K. Gani, an enterprising dentist and member of the PNI. After some indecision the PSII agreed to stay in the cabinet provided its suggestions for reform would be carried out. The *Partai Rakjat Nasional* (National People's Party—PRN), which already had one seat in the cabinet, was awarded the additional post of Agrarian Affairs, while second Vice-Premier Arifin of the NU moved up to the first Vice-Premier's post. Sidadjuddin Abbas, leader of a small Muslim party, *Perti*, joined the cabinet as State Welfare Minister. Even after the cabinet reshuffle the tension continued, however, not in the least because of the continued opposition of such parties as the Masjumi (Moslem Federation), Indonesia's largest, and the small but influential Socialist Party. As in the past the Indonesian Communist Party continued to give the Ali cabinet its support. This fact became particularly apparent when—for the first time in Indonesia's history—a motion expressing lack of confidence in

the cabinet was introduced after the "reshuffle" had taken place. The proponents of the motion, which included representatives of the Masjumi, Socialist, Protestant Christian, and Catholic parties, of the Democratic faction, as well as Tadjuddin Noor of the splinter PIR, stated that the extensive cabinet change had in fact resulted in a new cabinet which required a new consideration by the parliament of its confidence in it. Thanks to Communist support, however, the motion was narrowly defeated, signifying, if anything, an even closer alliance between Communists and Government parties than before the cabinet crisis.

But the most important consequence of the whole political crisis was the extraordinary stand taken by President Sukarno during it, and the definite emergence of a pattern of multiple power conflicts within the Indonesian Government and Society. On many previous occasions Sukarno had publicly declared that he stood above party struggles, but during the recent Sastroamijoyo crisis he almost wholly reversed himself. First the President summoned to his home two PSII leaders who had wavered in their continued support of the tottering cabinet, and to them "expressed the hope of society that the cabinet of Ali will be maintained." (Earlier he had merely declared that the Government should remain "progressive"). Then, in a now famous speech on November 9, 1954, he stated that "among those who wish to dissolve the cabinet" were traitors "who want to sell their country to foreigners" and "sell the people to foreign countries for millions of rupiah." This sensational charge, coupled to a subsequent announcement that the attorney-general's office was questioning and investigating several persons suspected of selling their country to foreign interests, was widely interpreted as an attack on the opposition parties, in particular on the Masjumi. This suspicion was given further ground by the declaration of Masjumi leader Wibisono that the President in his accusation had probably him, Wibisono, in mind and also Tadjuddin Noor, a leader of the dissident PIR faction that had withdrawn its support from the Ali cabinet. The basis of Sukarno's accusation, according to Wibisono, was the confession on tape recording of an unidentified Chinese who stated that Noor and Wibisono had received foreign money. In many circles in Indonesian politics and the Press there was dismay over the President's accusation. Wibisono himself invited the Government to prosecute any evidence of wrong-doing, but thus far no public announcements as to who the culprits are has been made, nor has there been notice of an official indictment. Sukarno himself had admitted in his Palembang speech that legal recriminations against the alleged traitors would be difficult if not impossible, but they would not escape the moral indignation of the nation. In any event the President's accusation, made before the confidence vote was introduced, undoubtedly swayed the undecided elements in parliament and out, giving some ground to the often heard charge that the present cabinet is really a "Sukarno" cabinet.

The position of President Sukarno, his immense popularity among and skilful manipulation of the Indonesian masses, and

the as yet largely undefined sphere of his authority, constitute one major source of power conflict in Indonesia today. The President's open support of the Ali cabinet is not the first time that he has brought his immense influence to bear on the parliamentary process. One is reminded here for example of his decree No. 6, 1947, by which the revolutionary Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP), the embryo parliament of the original revolutionary Indonesian Republic, was greatly enlarged over the vociferous objection of many KNIP members. This manoeuvre was justified by some observers as being necessary to sanction the so-called Linggadjati Agreement, the Republic's first treaty with the Dutch. There are other instances in these early days of the Republic that point to a conflict between parliament and executive, and the problem has continued to this day. For it is well known that Sukarno favours a state based on essentially secular principles (with due recognition of "the belief in God"), as opposed to the desires of virtually all Muslim parties that Indonesia become a state openly based on Islamic principles. The fact that it is widely believed that the opposition Masjumi (Muslim) party would probably win a general election if it were held now and that as a result a pseudo-theocratic state might well be established in Indonesia, may force Sukarno to assume an even more autocratic course in order to save the secular basis of the state. Some leaders of the Masjumi, in particular vice-chairman Kasman Singodimedjo, have been openly critical of the "Pantjasila" (the national and essentially secular doctrine of Indonesia) formulated by Sukarno, and the whole question of whether Indonesia will be a secular or thinly disguised theocratic state has undoubtedly been of influence on Sukarno's recent pronouncements. His support of the Ali cabinet may well have sprung from a desire to keep the state, at least for the time being, in a "secular" direction, for if the Ali Government had fallen not only the position of the President's own party, the PNI, might have been jeopardised, but, since the Masjumi would probably have formed the succeeding cabinet, the "theocratic" basis of the state might have become a reality.

One should add that Sukarno's views in this respect are shared by members of some of the lesser political parties. Indonesia has more than 27 national political parties. Since the parliamentary distribution of seats is provisional (a distribution over which the executive has considerable control also), it has been deemed necessary to represent even the smallest groups on various parliamentary committees, although many such lesser groups would in all certainty not be entitled to their present strength in the parliament if an actual election had been held. The future of these lesser groups depends in no small measure on postponing the general election, which is to be Indonesia's first, and which for various reasons has been frequently put off. Other parties favour postponement on the grounds that if an election were to be held now, and the Masjumi would win, the secular state, for which the Revolution was fought, would be nullified. Thus a number of the political parties today have a considerable stake in keeping the election in a distant future and in keeping the Ali cabinet from falling and being succeeded by a possible Masjumi cabinet. The increasing reliance of the Ali cabinet on the smaller parties (e.g. Perti, PRN, and NU) in the last year reflects this development. There is also the patronage factor: by cooperating with the PNI and by participating in the present cabinet, members of the lesser parties have a better chance to obtain good positions in the bureaucracy and various appointive offices.

To western observers the behaviour of Indonesian political parties often seems highly irresponsible, since cabinet and parties alike frequently appear to ignore even the most elementary rules of parliamentary government. The explanation lies not just in

the absence of an elected national legislature, but perhaps even more in the unique development of Indonesian parties in relation to the parliament. As Ruslan Abdulgani, Secretary General of the Information Ministry, has pointed out, during the early stages of the Indonesian revolution the embryo parliament, the national party system and the Indonesian army were in fact the creation of a single body, the Preparatory Commission for Indonesian Independence. In view of the uncertainties of the revolution it was not clear whether parliament would be the chief instrument of revolutionary government, or whether continued reliance would have to be placed on the political parties—quite independent of parliament—to carry on the revolutionary agitation. Thus political parties, some small, some large, became in so many ways "reserve instruments" of government, usable if parliament could not function. The later Indonesian parliament itself would have to develop out of the context of this party system. As of that time on, as Abdulgani has stated, "there has existed competition between parliamentarism and the party system in Indonesia." In the following years the evil was compounded by the appointment to the parliament of additional members of previous legislative bodies so that one layer of representation was laid over the other. The distribution of seats in the present provisional parliament (which numbers about 225 seats at present) is agreed upon between executive and party leaders and the parliament itself is now recruited from members of the former Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP), the former Supreme Advisory Council of the original Indonesian Republic (Djakakarta), the former bicameral parliament of the federal Indonesian Republic (dissolved by the unification of states in 1950), and newly appointed members. Thus the legislative arm of the present Republic has more and more tended to reflect party interests, removed from electoral controls.

One result of the encroachment of the party system on the structure of government has been the partisan character of the bureaucracy, and partisan political influence in the upper layers of economic life and, as a result of both of these, of the growth of unprecedented official corruption in virtually all public administrative branches. There has been a vast number of appointments based solely on party affiliation, and civil servants, including provincial governors, have been removed for no other apparent reason than that they belonged to opposition parties. As a result, the members of the bureaucracy have come to be loyal not so much to the Government but to the party which was responsible for their appointment. In economic life a similar baneful development is to be noted. Due to the Government's policy of favouring native Indonesian business interests, recourse has been had to the issuance of special, semi-monopolistic licences and to the leasing of government contracts to special groups of entrepreneurs. As a result, politicians have been able to extract large bribes from business men anxious to obtain the prized orders and licences, while often the criterion in awarding a certain contract or licence has been the political sympathy of the business man involved, not his capital, technical or administrative resources. In this way a few score native Indonesian entrepreneurs with the "right" political views have been able to enrich themselves at the expense of the country.

So long as no general election is held it is useless to withdraw bureaucratic positions from partisan political control by giving their incumbents security of tenure. There is already some evidence to show that despite its heavy reliance on the party system the bureaucracy itself is becoming a power bloc in its own right, in conflict with executive and judiciary, its proper functioning disturbed by the absence of clearly established lines of responsibility. This is as true for the lesser civil servants

in the more remote islands as it is for department heads in the capital city. Though as yet not sharply defined, a potential three-way conflict: parliament—parties—civil service, is certainly apparent. Intra-party wrangling and rifts affect this situation very little, as the recent PIR split shows. Splinter parties, formed by dissident leadership, easily retain much influence because of the present policy to accommodate as many shades of political opinion as possible, as was pointed out above; indeed the present situation shows a marked reliance by the Government parties on the support of often ephemeral smaller groups.

The lack of rapport between political leaders and an informed electorate will remain the grit in the bearings of the Indonesian Government machinery for a long time to come. While some of the procrastination in the holding of a general election must be placed at the door of some political parties fearful of losing their present important position, much of it stems also from the immense difficulties in getting the election understood by the future voters. The illiteracy rate is at least 65 per cent. for the whole country and in many areas people do not know what the election is all about. According to one Press report some think that it concerns the election of a new "emperor" in Java. In other regions election registrars have been murdered because they insisted on taking thumbprints of the future voters to determine their identity. Taking such prints was apparently felt to be an insult. Since symbols are to be used to identify the various parties to the voters (as in the last Indian election), the complex psychological problems of symbol identification in the mass communication process have become acute. For example, in a recent "test" election in Surabaya, Java, voters were asked to cast their ballots for certain symbols, ranging from a barrel, to a hammer, a bottle and a hat. "Barrel" and "hammer" won decisively, and not a single "vote" was cast for the bottle and the hat, for psychological reasons which are by no means clear. Another factor that has made for delay in holding the election has been the fear in political circles beyond Java that as a result of the election the legislature will be dominated by Javanese. There is still a good deal of "ethnic" competition and antagonism among the various population groups, and the cry of "Javanese imperialism" may still be heard.

Still another conflict of power arises from the ill-defined relationship between the Central Government in Djakarta, and the local and regional councils of government in the outlying territories and provinces (*daerah*). Thus far, local and regional autonomy are little more than a promise, and in countless *daerah* voices have been raised demanding greater local control over treasury funds and economic life. There is widespread criticism of the excessively centralising tendencies of the Government, causing popular dissatisfaction that lies at the roots of the insurrectionary movements in Aceh and South Sulawesi. The present cabinet does not appear to favour greater *daerah* autonomy, despite its promises to the contrary. For example, when in October, 1954, a preliminary conference of provincial Governments was held in Bandung, West-Java, only three of the ten provinces were represented. As a result of a statement of the then Home Affairs Minister that he did not favour such a conference, the seven other provinces which had previously indicated that they would send delegates did not show up after all. So long as no definite regulation exists defining the powers of the *daerah*, so long will Indonesia's public administration remain a source of constant irritation to thousands.

Finally, a word needs to be said about the instability caused by the present position of the commanders of the Indonesian

Army. Army officers, among them the former army chief of staff Nasution, were deeply involved in the October 17, 1952 affair, which was caused by the dissatisfaction in certain political and army circles over the seemingly irresponsible tactics of the provisional parliament. The intense involvement of the Indonesian army in politics is also the result of revolutionary developments. The revolutionary fighting units often acted completely on their own and showed little or no inclination to submit to civilian control. Army commanders who rose to prominence during the revolution thus often looked upon their regiments as personal instruments of power, they favoured not an army beyond politics but rather an army imbued with definite political ideals of which they were the embodiment. Just before the October 17, 1952 crisis broke, an attempt had been made to reorganise the army on a tighter, more disciplined and less "ideological" basis, but the attempt failed and all over Indonesia junior territorial commanders deposed their senior officers and assumed command over the various territorial units themselves. The result is that today the territorial army commanders exhibit all the trappings of the traditional Chinese warlords and seem to be able to defy civilian control with impunity. Major General Bambang Sugeng, who was appointed Army Chief of Staff after Nasution's resignation, has not been able to withstand political army pressures. Once before he offered his resignation, but Sukarno refused it. Then, towards the end of September, 1954, three army colonels reputedly visited Sukarno and urged the president that Sugeng resign, presumably to advance their own ambitions in the defence ministry. On January 16, 1955, it was reported that Sugeng again had submitted his resignation, because, as he said he was "unable to cope with political intrigues inside the army." The "ideological" army officers also succeeded in getting the post of Armed Forces Chief of Staff abolished. The former incumbent of this post, General Simatupang, was reputedly in favour of the group that wanted to place the army on a non-political and more disciplined basis. A good indication of the extent to which "warlordism" has spread in Indonesia is the recently reported copra smuggling affair in North-Eastern Sulawesi (Celebes), involving the territorial commander of that area, Col. Warouw. It appears that Warouw openly condoned and profited from the smuggling of copra to an amount of more than 3 million Rupiah (£125,000), most of which was reportedly used for local development projects in the area, which could not have been implemented because of the tardy allocations from the central treasury. More importantly, mass demonstrations of veterans, coconut cultivators and copra processors were held in the area in support of Warouw's policies. Though Warouw was summoned to Djakarta to give an explanation of his conduct, not one Government spokesman has uttered a word of criticism so far. On the contrary, shortly after Warouw had returned to his post, the Minister of Defence visited Sulawesi and declared that though in principle every breach of the law should be punished "there are often many factors, however, which make the punishment of every breach of the law impossible, while we, the Government also have to act tactfully." To many observers this statement sounded like disguised approval of the Colonel's conduct, and one Indonesian newspaper likened Indonesia to a "cowboy state" where not the rule of law but the law of the strongest armed band prevails.

All these developments augur ill for the establishment of stable democratic government in the future. Only with the promulgation of a permanent constitution, with the delineation of clear channels of political responsibility and with the advent of a sense of public service among Government functionaries can these dangerous trends be reversed.

LONDON NOTEBOOK

Prof. Supomo on Indonesian Education

The Indonesian Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Professor Supomo, addressed a meeting organised by the Oxford Committee of the World University Service, at All Souls College, Oxford, last month. He said that in 1951 the Indonesian Government initiated a ten year plan of education, and that it was hoped that by 1961 "we will not only have achieved universal compulsory education but that illiteracy will have been completely abolished." Under Dutch rule nothing had been done to combat illiteracy among the masses living in the villages, and to emphasise the seriousness of the deficiency he recalled that about 90 per cent. of Indonesian people live in villages.

Talking of the war-time occupation by the Japanese, the Ambassador said that the "one good result . . . was the stimulation of the use of Indonesian as the language of instruction and official correspondence." The problems which the Indonesians faced in the field of education, such as shortage of teaching staff and equipment, were at least offset to some degree by the fact that they have the opportunity of moulding a completely new educational system to a definite plan. They have, of course, to start everything from scratch—to print new books and restock libraries with works in Indonesian and it must not be forgotten that new technical words must be devised in the language that has never before had to encompass such terms. Prof. Supomo ended his address with the hope that, as English was the secondary language of Indonesia, more students from his country would find places in British universities, but that to facilitate such a move quickly he wished that some allowance could be made, and that there would be an easing of the demand for a high standard of the English language.

Afro-Asian Conference

If he were a cartoonist, said Philip Mason, a former Indian civil servant, speaking to the Royal Central Asian Society on the Afro-Asian Conference, he would draw a scene from the Arabian Nights. A fisherman (Indonesia) uncorks a bottle and out comes a cloud of black smoke in the shape of a question mark and a genie (China) emerging out of it. He would imply in the drawing that perhaps it was not a good thing to deal with evil spirits at all.

Mr. Mason looked with suspicion on China's motives in taking part in the Afro-Asian Conference. He thought China would use the occasion for propaganda purposes and to further her own ends. Two men, he said, would compete for dominance—Mr. Nehru, who has spoken of the Conference, "in his cosiest vein, as if administering tea on the vicarage lawn," and Mr. Chou En-lai. "I think I know which of these will do the

most talking and which will achieve his own ends."

Mr. Mason traced the psychological origin of the Conference to a sense of humiliation among educated Asians looking back to the late 19th century when Asia was almost completely dominated. This sense of humiliation, he said, was "largely aided by the realisation that they were unable to govern themselves."

The Conference has also as its background the Asian dislike of colonialism and a desire among India and some other nations to create an area independent of the two main power blocs. The Asian opposition to colonialism, he said, is natural, but their view that the scene in Africa is the same as it was in Asia and that colonialism must end in Africa is "as unrealistic as the American view on Formosa." As for an independent area in Asia, Mr. Mason thinks that it would be an area without any strength and therefore a mere vacuum.

Mr. Mason (Philip Woodruff) is the author of *The Men Who Ruled India*. He is now the director of studies in race relations at Chatham House.

Indo-Chinese Paradox

Miss Marion Coate, Secretary of the Franco-British Society, spoke of a "paradoxical situation" in Indo-China, when she addressed members of the UN Fellowship National Society. According to her, the North is "beginning to feel irked by the iron rule," while the South is looking to the North for a competent administration. The Dominion Status state under Bao Dai in South Viet Nam is independent only on paper and is largely ruled by French civil servants

who do not have the support of the people. She thinks it will not be long before the Communists take over the South.

Miss Coate, who was on the staff of the South-East Asia Command during the war, said that "France has given so much of herself" to Indo-China and that the influence of French rule was visible in many aspects of life there, especially in the intellectual sphere. The mark is so strong that even after two or three hundred years a visitor would be able to say that it was once a French colony.

A Japanese Film

The few Japanese films that have come to England in recent years—of which *Seven Samurai* is the latest—have been of a particular type; they all have a medieval setting and a good measure of violence and bloodshed. This, I am afraid, is creating a false impression here of the Japanese cinema and, what is more serious, of the Japanese people. Does not Japan produce films on contemporary life? Are the Japanese naturally fond of brutality? These are questions I have heard people asking. Of course, anyone with a fair knowledge of the Japanese people or their cinema art knows how untrue such notions are. Other types of films are made in Japan, and it is a pity that we cannot see any of them here. *Yukiwarisoo*, a film of exquisite beauty and charm, with a social story centred on a little boy, was shown three years ago at an International Film Festival in Delhi. Many considered it an even better film than the Italian *Bicycle Thieves*, which was another entry at the Festival, yet it has never been shown here.

Coming to *Seven Samurai*, does it in fact show a love of brutality? It does not. I have rarely seen so much uninhibited savagery on the screen, but there is nothing in the film that even tends to glorify violence, or even



Toshiro Mifune in "Seven Samurai"

defend it; violence is merely recorded as an aspect of life. The ferocity of the knights (Samurai) defending a terror-stricken village against armed bandits is merely a matter of professional efficiency. A young peasant who hero-worships a Samurai for his exploits only receives his scorn. What impressed me most is the remarkable detachment with which the scenes of battle are handled. Almost a symbol of this detachment is the leader of the Samurai, whose philosophical serenity is in striking contrast to the fighting and bloodshed around him, which he himself, as the most experienced swordsman of them all, directs.

A poor village in the 16th century hires seven professional warriors to protect it from the seasonal depredations of bandits. They do the job in return for two square meals a day. In the beginning of the film we see the menace of the bandits and how the warriors are engaged one by one. A small band of farmers is organised to assist them. There is bloody fighting as the bandits come on horseback, batch after batch. Casualties are heavy on both sides, and when peace is finally restored, four of the Samurai have been

killed. The story moves slowly but the inner action and the tidy direction make the film seem less long than it is (two and a half hours).

The oriental idiom is still foreign to western audiences, and might limit their enjoyment of the film, but few can fail to admire its virility and artistic beauty.

The film is directed by Akira Kurosawa, who made *Rashomon*. If *Seven Samurai* has not astonished the West to the same extent as *Rashomon* did a few years ago, it is mainly because the one has followed the other.

Chandigarh

The enthusiasm and the determination of the people of the Punjab in building the new capital of East Punjab was praised by Mr. Maxwell Fry, one of the architects who planned the city, in the course of his Sir George Birdwood Memorial lecture to the Royal Society of Arts on "Chandigarh and Planning Development in India." He said the Punjabis and the Sikhs were as tough and cocky a race of people as anywhere on earth. Only such a people could undertake to build a new city so soon after the disastrous par-

titution had left their State in a welter of bloodshed, bitterness and dislocation.

Chandigarh is a part of the Five Year Plan that was inaugurated in 1951, a "courageous and effective reply" to the misfortunes of the early years of Indian independence. The city is modelled on the ideas of Le Corbusier, but the skyscrapers and elevated roadways that are the dominant features of his Ville Radieuse were not applied to Chandigarh where concentration is not expected to be heavy. This is a one- and two-storey town. Pedestrians will be segregated from fast traffic. The roads for motor cars are without footpaths, "as nearly safeguarded as a railway line is for trains."

Miss Jane Drew, Mr. Fry's wife, who designed the houses, referred to the "six climates" of Chandigarh—cold, dust, rain, wind, wet or dry heat—which influenced the design of the houses. There was also the problem of combining modern conveniences with traditional ways of living. Due regard has also been given to the different economic levels of the inhabitants. Fifteen different income categories have been catered for.

Letters to the Editor

ISLAM AND COMMUNISM

SIR—The article of Mr. M. S. Srinivasan of Bombay on "Islam and Communism," published in your February issue, reeks so much with religious bigotry that it would be absurd to try and expose all the untruths and fallacies in it.

The veiled purpose of the entire tirade against the Islamic system is to persuade Mr. Foster Dulles not to strengthen the Muslim Middle East against Communism. The Indian author would have done well if he had confined himself to logic and to political arguments, but to smear the Islamic faith as intolerant and totalitarian is sheer fanaticism.

The Islamic state of Mr. Srinivasan's concept belongs to a past age in which non-Muslim states were no better. In Mr. Srinivasan's own country, the Hindu fanatics had ruthlessly wiped out Buddhism. Islam, compared to the intolerant Hinduism that mercilessly erased Buddhism from India, seems a much more tolerant religion otherwise Hinduism would not have survived nine centuries of Muslim rule in India. If the author's logic that non-Muslims cannot live honourably in an Islamic state was true, there should have been no Hindus left in India nor Christians in Spain—because both the countries were under Muslim sway for many centuries.

Mr. Srinivasan refers to the evacuation of non-Muslims from Pakistan to India as an example of Muslim intolerance. He forgets to mention that eight million Muslims had also to leave their homes in India, which poses as a secular state, and migrate to Pakistan. There are still more than 12

million Hindus living in Pakistan and we have had no communal riots anywhere in this country for at least two years now. Could Mr. Srinivasan say the same about his country where communal riots have not ceased to occur and where fanatical Hindu organisations like the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha still talk of converting the 30 million Indian Muslims to Hinduism?

Islam offers one of the most democratic systems in the world. In its pristine form and shape, it approximates to the Presidential democracy in the United States. The popularly elected Caliph of the early days of Islam is more like the American President of today, but the concept of the popular will is as much potent in Islamic political thought as in the western concepts of democracy. The corruption of democracy by corrupt men does not imply that democracy is essentially bad; in the same way if Islam degenerates into tyranny because of corrupt men, it does not mean that Islam is basically totalitarian. In fact, Islam ordains that rulers in a Muslim state should rule only so long as they enjoy the confidence of the people. Socially, Islamic society is most democratic. It knows no caste system, which has corrupted Hindu society. And of course it can have no willing truck with godless Communism.

If Pakistan and some other Muslim states have outlawed the Communist party it does not mean that the Muslim masses in these countries were embracing Communism in enormous numbers. If the United States has banned the Communist party it surely does not imply that millions of Americans have gone Communist. Similarly, the banning of

the Communist party in Pakistan is no evidence in support of the assertion that Pakistanis are going Communist. Pakistan outlawed the Communists because the few of them who existed in this country as a party sought to spread their ideas under foreign inspiration through internal subversion, and attempted to overthrow law and order, as was shown by labour riots in East Pakistan last summer.

Yours, etc.,
QUTUBUDDIN AZIZ.

Karachi.

KOREA, CHINA AND FORMOSA

SIR—During the interview which Mr. Krushchev gave to three American journalists in February, the question of Formosa came up. Mr. Kingsbury Smith, one of the journalists, made the point that the United States was not willing to deprive Formosa of American protection because when America did the same thing in South Korea some years ago Communist North Korea invaded the South. Now the interesting thing is that Krushchev, in his reply, did not deny the journalist's description of events and say that the South invaded the North, as one would have expected him to do. He merely asserted that America intervened in a civil war in Korea.

On this question of who first invaded whom in Korea, Krushchev seems to be at variance with Sir John Pratt who states quite categorically in your March number that "some time before dawn on Sunday, June 25, 1950, the South Korean army crossed the 38th Parallel . . . The North Koreans were taken completely by surprise." Will Mr. Krushchev, if he reads your paper, I wonder, be taken completely by the same sort of surprise at Sir John Pratt's statement?

Yours, etc.,
Stroud, Glos. BRIAN GREGORY.

FROM ALL QUARTERS

Future of New Guinea

The Governor of Netherlands New Guinea, Dr. van Baal, in an address to the Delft Students' debating club in February said that the territory's general future would probably lie in agrarian development in view of its wealth in forestry and, as far as could be seen at present, the modesty of its wealth in minerals. Speaking of the various moves made since the definitive settlement at Manokwari which had been established in 1897, he said that none had achieved much success. But one thing had remained: the primitive population, which lived in almost complete isolation, had been brought into contact with the West; and this contact had been strengthened and broadened enormously by the war. It had opened the eyes of the Papuans to a world of power and of unheard of riches, in which they now wanted to have a part. They wanted to do this in their own way. They were interested in machinery and wanted to acquire the knowledge how to handle it. But they were impatient—the pupils all too anxious to arrive at mastery, the teachers anxious that they should understand the things they wanted to handle before entrusting them with their power.

The after-war effort to develop the country had started under very difficult conditions. Indonesian members of the old administration had not wanted to stay on after the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia, so that there followed a first period of disorganisation. A new civil service had to be built up. The shack village of Hollandia had to be turned into a small town with stone houses. Then the harbour was improved, and roads brought to a reasonable state.

On the subject of the people, Dr. van Baal said the Administration hoped that the Papuans would evolve their own employers' section of the community, though western undertakings would naturally remain indispensable. The authorities' endeavours were directed towards a general community development, in which the Papuans would be fully included in the economic system to be linked up with the world market.

British Bases in Ceylon

British military bases in Ceylon could not be used against Ceylon's wish. This is the view of the Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala. Sir John states that Ceylon's Defence Agreement with Britain is mutual and could be terminated at will. If Ceylon wished to remain neutral in the event of a war, British troops now manning bases in the country could be asked to go.

The bases referred to are the naval base at Trincomalee in North Ceylon and the airport at Katunayake. They were granted to Britain in 1948, the year Ceylon gained independence. A demand is now being made by a certain section of the public supported by the national Press, that these bases should be handed back. The fact that Britain is a participant of SEATO and Ceylon is not, is brought forward as an argument. They claim that should war break out, these bases may involve Ceylon against her wish.

"Louvre Exhibition" in Japan

An exhibition of treasures from the Louvre Museum in Paris aroused great enthusiasm among a wide public in Japan. In Tokyo alone it attracted more than 540,000 visitors. The initiative in bringing the collection to Japan was taken by the Japanese daily paper *Asahi Shimbun* as part of its 75th anniversary celebrations.

The organisation of the exhibit has taken five years, and the delicate task of transporting the precious works of art to Japan accomplished by shipping them in air-conditioned cabins so as to preserve them from abrupt climatic changes. The exhibition groups 365 works of art from the early Middle Ages to the end of the nineteenth century. It includes paintings tracing the evolution of French art up till the end of the last century, sketches, sculpture, medallions, stained glass windows, ceramics, silver plate and a collection of tapestries illustrating the life of Louis XIVth.

Whilst on view at the Ueno Museum in Tokyo, the Louvre treasures attracted an average of 13,000 visitors a day. People queued up days in advance to buy tickets. Reports from the other cities where the exhibition is now being shown indicate that it is meeting with the same success.



King Suramarit of Cambodia, who succeeded his son, Norodom Sihanouk, after the latter's sudden abdication on March 3. King Norodom (see article in *EASTERN WORLD*, March number), who had come to the throne at the age of 19 to succeed his grandfather, abdicated because the Cambodian Democratic Party opposed his plans to replace elections with a system of indirect voting. The Democratic Party complained to the International Control Commission set up in Geneva to supervise the Indo-Chinese truce, and the Commission found that the young King's plan was contrary to the Geneva agreement.

Singapore's First Radio-Taxis

Singapore's first radio-controlled taxicabs have recently appeared on its busy streets.

So far, about 25 of these taxis have been fitted with two-way radio, and the operating company has already found that the use of radio communication results in a great saving of journeys, as disengaged taxicabs can be directed quickly to fares in their immediate vicinity. A further 25 taxis are in process of being similarly equipped. Each vehicle is fitted with a Marconi 3-5 Watt VHF telephony set, comprising transmitter/receiver unit, with microphone, and power supply unit.

The main, or headquarters, station is installed in one of the City's new skyscraper hotels, the equipment in use consisting of a Marconi 50-Watt VHF set arranged for controlled talk-through, with a mains-operated 5-Watt set used as an emergency standby.

Pictures below show a supervisor at the headquarters station in communication with one of the taxi drivers (Photos: Nanyang Siang Pau, Singapore)



World Veterans Federation and Asia

Brigadier F. H. Vinden, of Britain, has returned to Paris from his 3-month tour of Pakistan, India and Ceylon, sponsored by the World Veterans Federation, and has submitted reports to the Federation covering land resettlement, public utilities and tuberculosis.

The reports are now being edited and combined with others in the WVF Secretariat before they are circulated to interested parties. They will form an integral background for WVF planning on Asia, and will be complemented by a report made last autumn by WVF Rehabilitation Consultant Dr. Ludwig Guttman, of Britain, and a report under way by former WVF Deputy Secretary General Robert Yoakum.

Mr. Yoakum, who made an extensive tour of Asia last summer, has been named Special Consultant for Asia for the purpose of completing his report. Brigadier Vinden, in his report, outlines the Pakistan resettlement problem from its beginning in August, 1947, when there was a "vast migration of population and all the Muslim soldiers of the former Indian Army" to Pakistan. "Their families came with them, their homes were gone, and they had nothing but the clothes in which they stood," Brigadier Vinden said.

While in Ceylon, Brigadier Vinden visited the ambitious land settlement project at Polonnaruwa, where about 40,000 acres of jungle have been cleared and canals have been dug. The four great lakes of the ancient city provide water. The present project is the fruition of long-established plans to revive the irrigation system of the Kings of Kandy and to clear the jungle.

In India, the Brigadier reported that "tuberculosis is a great scourge and appears to be hitting the veteran in his 40s with marked severity." After discussions with the Chief of Staff, the Asia Office of the World Health Organisation and the Director of Medical Services, he found everyone in agreement that any assistance in this field "would be more than welcome." He reported a great shortage of hospital beds.

Hazards to Japanese Ships

Anti-submarine nets which the United States naval authorities laid several years ago in Tokyo Bay have presented a serious hazard to Japanese merchant and fishing vessels. The Japanese Shipowners' Association is to ask the US Far Eastern Fleet authorities to remove the nets and also for 300m. yen in compensation for the damage suffered by the shipowners. Previous representations to the US Navy have been refused because of "technical difficulties."

Translating Ceylonese Text-books

A department is to be set up under the Ceylonese Ministry of Education to translate into the national languages (Sinhalese and Tamil) the text-books necessary for implementing the Government's decision to make Swabasha (which the two national languages are jointly called) the medium of instruction for higher education. A Ministerial sub-committee has decided that the immediate need is to set up an organisation to make available to schools Swabasha text-books because of the decision to hold the Senior School Certificate examination in the national languages in 1957. The Minister of Education, Mr. M. D. Banda, has given an assurance that suitably qualified educationists would be in charge of the translation of text-books into the two languages, and that qualified writers would be engaged for writing the text-books. Special committees will be set up within the new department to coin suitable words in Sinhalese and Tamil for scientific, technical and other branches of knowledge.

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BOOKS on

Moscow and Chinese Communists by ROBERT C. NORTH.
(Stanford University Press, London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 40s.)

The great controversy that has been raging in America since the war, on that country's policy towards China, can be said to have grown out of a great confusion. A stable China, governed on western democratic lines, which the US envisaged as emerging after the Japanese war had ended was frustrated by the rapid growth of corruption and maladministration among the Kuomintang, and the emergence of a system more acceptable to the Chinese peasant and nationalistically minded intellectual.

America was never very clear, at the time of the immediate post-war struggle for power in China, about the issues at stake for the Chinese people. Chinese political development since the beginning of this century was, for Americans, full of contradictions: Sun Yat Sen's admiration for the Bolsheviks, Chiang Kai-shek's collaboration with Soviet emissaries, the cooperation of the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang, the revolutionary aspect of both parties, the cleavages, unifications and cross-currents. Americans in China in the war years produced a wealth of conflicting reports. Out of all the confusion, Washington decided to direct its policy towards a coalition between Mao Tse-tung and Chiang. After this effort finally failed in late 1945, we all saw how the Chinese Communists defeated the Kuomintang within four years.

This book, which "seeks to outline the beginnings of the Chinese Communist movement, the course of its relations with Moscow and the rise of Mao Tse-tung," is most useful, particularly for Americans, because in later years those who were responsible for reporting to Washington that a coalition in China was feasible, and that Mao's regime would shape China's destiny, were accused of "losing China to the free world."

Mr. North has put a great deal of research into the work, using many authentic documentary sources. Although he implies in the beginning of the book that Moscow fostered the idea during the war that Mao and his colleagues were not genuine Communists in order to deceive the Western Allies, his subsequent pages reveal the depth of Mao's independence from Moscow, which was enough to make the Kremlin believe, at that time, that they were not orthodox Communists. Mao adapted the tenets of Marxism to Chinese conditions, and his theories of a revolution based upon the peasantry rather than the urban proletariat were in contradiction with the Lenin line, which was sacrosanct in Moscow.

It is true of course, that the inspiration of the Chinese Communist movement came from Russia, but its final victory was possible because of its ability to be flexible and not bound by the rigid pattern of international Communism. Reading this book does not convince us that the Bolshevik hierarchy in Moscow imposed a regime on China that it did not want, or that Mao's ultimate triumph was part of Russia's own design for world revolution. Stalin, after all, had backed the Kuomintang horse, on and off, for many years before the war, and even in 1945 (so he later told the Yugoslav Foreign Minister) he advised the Chinese Communists to disband their army and seek a *modus vivendi* with Chiang Kai-shek. That the Chinese Communists did not do so was an indication that they, more than anyone, were able to feel the pulse of the Chinese people and to understand its implications.

The United States had indications as early as 1941 of the

FAR EAST

corrupt nature of the Nationalist Government, and of its lack of support among the people. By 1945 most American observers in China were agreed that the Nationalist armies lacked effective leadership, and that Mao enjoyed the rapidly growing support of the people. Where Mr. North is not very clear is when and how the final decision was made by the US to support Chiang with large amounts of money and arms in the full knowledge that his regime was no longer strong, efficient or popular enough to stand up to the pressure of the Communist revolution. In the immediate post-war period it seemed as if the US had recognised the dynamic force of the revolt in China, and what the final outcome would be. The abandonment of Chiang's troublesome, corrupt and burdensome Government at that time by the Americans, even without giving moral support to the Communist revolution, would have put an entirely different complexion on recent affairs in the Far East. Careful study of Mr. North's analysis reinforces this belief. J. W. T. COOPER

Danger in Kashmir by JOSEF KORBEL. (Princeton University Press, London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 30s.)

Mr. Korbel was the Czechoslovak chairman of the United Nations Commission sent out to Kashmir in 1948 until political changes in his own country led to his leaving the commission. He continued to follow the progress of events in Kashmir and the other centres concerned in the dispute and the account he has given is worth studying. For much of the period he reviews he was in an excellent position to see things objectively and his first hand account of the work of the commission is able to convey something more than official reports can do—the feeling of intense devotion of the commission's members to the task of finding a solution for the problem. In his own words they became "emotionally attached" to the cause of Kashmir and that much of the attachment persists is clear from Mr. Korbel's continued interest in the welfare of the country.

Reference may be made to certain significant passages in the book. In the early stages of the dispute, when much suffering could have been avoided, the two Governors General, Jinnah and Mountbatten, met at Lahore when the powerful position of Jinnah in Pakistan and the limited powers of Mountbatten in the Indian Government were revealed. Yet earlier it seems to have been Mountbatten with whom the idea of conditional accession to India originated at a time when the Indian leaders were ready to send help to the Maharaja. Why, asks Mr. Korbel, was the idea of getting into touch with the Pakistan Government not raised then?

When eventually the matter did get to the Security Council, it handled the situation in a timid and slow fashion with the result that when a commission did get to Kashmir it found things had altered considerably. The first bombshell came when in Karachi it learnt from the Pakistan Foreign Minister that three Pakistani brigades had been in Kashmir since May, 1948.

Again what might not have developed if the commission had been able to bring together the leaders of Azad Kashmir and Sheikh Abdullah? Sheikh Abdullah secretly expressed his willingness to take part in such a meeting, but the commission was unable to move for fear of being charged with intrigue by the Indian Government.

A final thought: Mr. Korbel notes that through 28 months of deliberation in the Security Council, the permanent members (excluding the Soviet Union) and the elected members, as they

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served their term, were all inclined to support a procedure acceptable to Pakistan rather than to India. "All were well aware of the paramount importance of the great Indian democracy to the cause of peace and freedom, and out of this awareness must have arisen basic desires to support India's position. But the Council members could not follow the arguments and proposals presented by the Indian delegates . . . Despite the serious charge that Pakistan had at least aided and abetted the tribesmen and that she had sent troops to Kashmir, the basic position taken by all these representatives largely coincided with Pakistan's insistence that the population of Kashmir must be given full guarantees of an unfettered opportunity to express its desire to be a part of India or Pakistan."

ARGUS

The Untold Story of Douglas MacArthur by FRAZIER HUNT.
(Robert Hale, 25s.)

Here we have yet another case of the biographer so carried away by admiration for his subject (and here, of course, the subject lends himself to such treatment, for many of his acts and words are so well known as to have become almost legendary), that he is viewed as an omniscient and infallible being. This is stated at one point in so many words: "in the eyes of the Japanese, his austere . . . existence gave to General MacArthur the distinct touch of a superior and removed being, separated by several degrees of caste from ordinary mortals." And this of the chief agent of democratisation! Hence, even the slightest error of judgement (in the eyes of a detractor, that is), must be whitewashed at all costs. Thus in the statement, made in late November, 1950, that "the boys might be home by Christmas," "home" is forced to mean the rest areas around Pusan, or across the narrow straits to Japan. I do not suppose for a moment that any GI in Korea at the time had visions of Pusan conjured up by the word "home."

Again, defence of the hero at any cost, leads, in situations where the defence is difficult to maintain, to some bad-tasting, and always unproved and unvouched-for insinuations: the Reds, for example, were tipped off that General MacArthur would never be allowed to use "his air" against them: and Mr. Hunt has a hard time playing down and explaining away the pronouncement of the firm belief that there would be no Chinese intervention in Korea, and the almost simultaneous fact of Chinese intervention.

The book is strangely balanced. There are long and often tedious traditions about the early life of the General's father, yet almost nothing about any aspect of the Japanese Occupation, or the implementation of the mandates received concerning the treatment of and the aspirations for the Japanese people. In fact, the most detailed treatment of the events of these years seems to be reserved for a homely chat on the history of the razor in use at the time, and the hour at which it was used. Again, the hiatus is the fault of the biographer: it does not reflect any corresponding gap in the life and activities of the subject.

There are several passages in appallingly bad taste—especially the jibe at the expense of Mr. Shigemitsu's leg, and the suggestion of rejoicing in Downing Street at the announcement of the recall. The mistakes include British Foreign Minister Bevan—not a lapsus of the typewriter, as consultation of the index, Bevan Aneurin, reveals: "kamakaze" too, I had always imagined had something to do with the spiritual, and was thus romanised as kamikaze.

And all the pother which clutters up the last few chapters: General MacArthur was, after all, a general, and President Truman's cool statement of the limits of the authority of a military commander is far more convincing than the emotional!

and purple pleading of Mr. Hunt. No one seems to have stopped to think that the logical, and justifiable Chinese follow through after any UN bombing of bases north of the Yalu, consisted in retaliatory raids on Okinawa and Japan.

The value of this work lies not so much in its factual data—almost every stage in the General's public life can be consulted in other general works which would provide a better all-round picture—as in the searching light it casts on the ways of thinking of a certain section of the American people. G.B.

Geisha of Pontocho by P. D. PERKINS, with photographs by FRANCIS HAAR (*Tokyo News Service*, 42s.)

There must be few foreigners qualified to write with any authority on geisha in general: certainly Mr. Perkins is the greatest living authority on the particular group—the geisha of the Pontocho district—which he describes here. The author is no mere week-end overlander, on his way to rejoin the boat in Kobe, he speaks the peculiar language of the Pontocho geisha ("Kyoto dialect with an Osaka accent") extraordinarily efficiently, and he is not biased either violently for or against the institution of which he writes.

The literal meaning of the word geisha is "a person of the arts"; those who would scoff—and their number includes many even of the young generation of Japanese—would do well to pause and consider the meaning of "the arts" in this context. A first-rank geisha must be a dancer, a musician on at least two instruments, such as the strong samisen, or the percussion taiko, or tsutsumi; she should be able to supervise at a tea ceremony, and this art alone takes several years to perfect, and she should have a well trained voice. She will, of course, specialise in, and be famous for only one of these accomplishments: she should, however, be sufficiently versed in the others as to be able to perform in them either in public on the geisha theatre stage, or at private banquets, or less formal parties at which she is called to entertain. I have heard the two foremost dancers of Pontocho take samisen solos at a private recital before a very discriminating audience, which could find no fault. The average Japanese girl will learn one of these accomplishments, in much the same way as her western counterpart would study the piano, and then forget.

The attribution of the term geisha should be restricted to persons who have undergone such rigorous training, and have qualified themselves in these arts. To apply it to an "on limits" bar waitress, or an export only street girl is sheer nonsense, and is one of the reasons for the misrepresentation of the true geisha.

There is a strange reticence on the part of the Japanese, otherwise so careful to retain and to preserve memorials of their past, as witness the present strengthening and restoration of the Byodoin, or Himeji Castle, to put down in writing the scores of their traditional music, or to record the steps of their folk-dances. A professor of Kyoto University whose grandfather used to play the original music of the Yamaguni tai, the unit of Loyalists who, with a drum and flute band, head the procession of the Jidai Matsuri (The Festival of the Ages), says that the present version of the music is almost unrecognisable when compared with his recollections of the original—and such changes in less than three generations. In this light, the geisha, in the person of the first-class samisen, or taiko player, or the vocalist, becomes, in fact, one of the few remaining repositories of the culture of the old Japan. Her survival, and the survival of the arts she transmits, become all the more essential when one recalls that across the way from Pontocho, there is a cinema which, during the whole of 1953 and 1954, showed nothing but American or English films, and that next door to it is a café

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advertising itself as a JATP—a "Jazz and Tea Parlour." It is to these latter that the present day undergraduates of Kyoto's Universities flock. They can tell you that there is "The Glenn Miller Story" at the Kyoei cinema, that Menuhin has just made a new recording of some concerto—and will take you off to a coffee bar where for a shilling drink you may hear it, and almost every other recording of anything but the most recondite of western music. But they cannot answer any of your questions about the arts of the geisha, for they seem to see something cheap and unworthy in their own culture, which holds little attraction for them.

The geisha of Pontocho are not, in theory, a closed society; as Mr. Perkins' case histories of the subjects of Mr. Haar's photographs reveal, they are certainly not girls who were sold into the life by parents attempting to balance the family budget.



The mistress of a teahouse welcomes geishas as they arrive to entertain their guests. (Illustration from "Geisha of Pontocho")

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In theory, the profession is open to all: in practice, it appears that the great majority are, in fact carrying on a family tradition—and this applies to the present geisha, as well as to the group of young maiko, geisha-to-be, and, below them again, the children of the quarter who, from the age of six or seven, begin their training at the hands of the same teachers who instruct the top-flight geisha, and who go for their everyday education to a special Pontocho school, financed by the geisha. All this is very far from the usual western concept of the red light district. The geisha is not a prostitute, not a defenceless girl sold into the service of a calculating brothel keeper. She may (and many of the girls under discussion here do) live a normal married life; she may be elected to the governing body which administers the theatre in Pontocho, and help to formulate both general policy, and particular decisions, such as the details of the programme of the next public performance; she may refuse a call (as many of the Pontocho geisha did when summoned by an Occupation general whose designs were not purely artistic), and the consequences amount to no more than her own financial loss.

The book is clearly the result of careful thought, and considerable research. Apart from the interesting case histories mentioned above, and a general description of the daily life of the geisha, there is a history of Pontocho, and the maps and a glossary between them elucidate any baffling passages in the narrative. Finally the photographs. Mr. Haar admits that it was no easy task to do justice to all the facets of the comprehensive text. All are natural (a feat in itself, for the Japanese will always persist in facing square to the camera, with the most studied of serious expressions), and each helps to clarify the verbal descriptions. In anyone who knows Pontocho, or Japan, they will evoke many nostalgic moments, and for those who do not, they are to be recommended as a true and faithful pictorial guide.

GEOFFREY BOWNAS

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Nine Man Eaters and One Rogue by KENNETH ANDERSON.
 (Allen and Unwin, 15s.)

These eleven stories make exciting reading, especially as they relate to a part of India which the western reader does not usually associate with the big cats of the jungle. But in the forests of South India, Kenneth Anderson found adventure in tracking down and killing animals that had been driven by injury or sheer depravity into attacking human beings. He knows the way of the jungle kings and how their minds work and, despite several errors of judgment which might have cost him his life as he frankly admits, he has been able to see the end of many a menace to the safety of the villager. D.S.P.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

AN insufficient appreciation of the economic and psychological factors in the Asian scene has been the main cause of the failure of American policy in the Far East in recent years. However, there is a growing realisation among Americans that a fresh outlook should be developed in the relations of the United States with Asian countries. This feeling is reflected in a frank article by Mr. Chester Bowles, former American Ambassador in India, in the current issue of the *New Lanka Quarterly Review* published from Colombo. Mr. Bowles observes that while what America does or fails to do in Europe is of crucial importance, what she does in Asia, Africa and South America is of at least equal importance. In these underdeveloped areas her concentration on military answers and her indifference to economic and political factors have been particularly damaging. "Instead of drawing on the strength of our democratic traditions and forming a partnership with these billion or more people, we have remained timid and uncertain. We have appeared to turn our backs on the anti-colonial revolution. We have failed to grasp the dynamic possibilities of Point Four, the Colombo Plan, the World Bank, and the specialised agencies of the United Nations." Mr. Bowles adds that the turmoil and ferment in Asia, Africa and South America were not created by the Communists. "If Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao had never existed, we would still be contending with it."

The need for a new approach to Asia is also stressed by another American. Robert C. North, Editor of the *Pacific Spectator*, writing in the winter issue of the quarterly, refers to the misunderstanding, distrust and fear of the United States that he found in India and other Asian countries on a recent visit, and says: "American prestige is at an all-time low in Asia. We are losing the battle of ideas in one defeat after another. Certain of our well-intentioned policies—such as military aid to Pakistan—have opened ancient wounds, thereby endowing Asian Communists with more strength than they, through their own efforts, could normally muster. In Asia, all too often, it is our own efforts which most impede us." While emphasising that military victories would not solve the fundamental conflict in the East, Mr. North points out that even economic aid—on however vast a scale—is not enough. "We cannot 'buy' the cooperation and friendship of neighbours anywhere. Human confidence is never paid for; it must be won. In recent years we have tended to throw our economic weight around. We have let paying take the place of winning." The writer observes that the first and foremost demand of Asians and Africans is the emancipation of the colonial peoples.

Political passions have so clouded the real issues regarding Formosa, that the average newspaper reader seeking a clear appreciation of events in the Far East will find extremely useful an article on the historical background of Formosa by Burnard Selby in the March issue of *History Today*. The writer notes that throughout most of its history Formosa has been a frontier society; sometimes a colony in name, nearly always a colony in fact. Its political complexion and patterns of trade have undergone innumerable changes, and only for 21 years in the 17th century has Formosa previously enjoyed a genuine separate existence of its own.

Monde Nouveau (February), published from Paris, features extracts from a lecture by Georges Bidault, former French Foreign Minister, on East-West relations. M. Bidault states that co-existence is the only alternative to war at the present moment and goes on to discuss

some of the practical difficulties of co-existence. Apart from the absence of mutual confidence between the Communist and non-Communist worlds, there is also the barrier created by the differences of language which makes mutual understanding difficult.

The legal aspects of co-existence are discussed by Suzanne Bastid in the February issue of *Politique Etrangere*, also from Paris. Co-existence, she says, should legally be based on respect for national sovereignty and the understanding that in the society of nations, the State is the supreme authority. International organisations should be

utilised only to facilitate the working out of the details of the principles of co-existence and not to develop a "government of co-existence."

Pakistani and Middle Eastern affairs are discussed on a scientific level in *Pakistan Horizon*, a quarterly published from Karachi, by the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs. The last issue of 1954 has, as its chief contribution, an article on western cooperation in the industrialisation of Pakistan, by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Minister for Industries. The author describes Pakistan's industrial policy as "enlightened self-interest."

THE REAL KING MONGKUT OF SIAM (II)

By Alexander B. Griswold (Baltimore, U.S.)

"THE King is of middle height, thin, with a somewhat austere countenance," wrote Sir John Bowring, who visited him in 1855. Anna, who first saw him seven years later, describes him as a "withered grasshopper." To her there was something repulsive in both his face and his character—though he had many noble traits, his cynicism was detestable; though his intentions were good, he was always at the mercy of his own angry passions.

To the Americans who knew him, his scepticism in regard to the superstitions that pervaded the old Buddhism was admirable so far as it went, but it did not go far enough, for he himself remained incurably superstitious—whereas his scepticism towards Christianity went entirely too far. They saw his character as irregular and inconsistent—shrewd but arbitrary; magnanimous but suspicious and easily offended; alternately generous and niggardly, kind and vindictive; a great humanitarian at one turn and petty beyond belief at another.

There is no doubt that he was quick-tempered. Yet more than one incident in his life shows that he did not bear a grudge for long, and he seemed to take real pleasure in forgiving people who had tried to injure him.

Although he was now King, he never forgot that he was still a human being living in a human world. He did not regard his subjects as chattels. He had known them as real people, lived on friendly terms with their brothers and their sons in the monasteries, received their alms and hospitality when making his long pilgrimages.

This sense of duty to his whole people stands out as the guiding principle of every important act in his career, every edict he issued, every reform he introduced.

Twice every year, for five centuries, the Siamese Kings had received a solemn pledge of loyalty from the princes and government officials, who gathered to "drink the water of allegiance" and call down terrible disasters on their own heads if ever they should betray their oath. In former days the monarch himself took no part in it. But King Mongkut introduced a characteristic amendment: when they made their pledge to him, he pledged his own loyalty to the whole people.

Four years after he came to the throne, the British mission headed by Sir John Bowring arrived in Bangkok. Previous kings, wedded to a policy of isolation, had taken little interest in such missions; but King Mongkut welcomed this one cordially, and in record time a workable treaty of diplomatic and commercial relations was signed.

The consequences of the treaty were far-reaching. Foreign trade had been for the most part a monopoly of the Crown and a few powerful officials. Now a host of restrictions and taxes were to be swept away. To make up for the loss of revenue the whole system of taxation had to be revised. Commerce with the British grew by leaps and bounds; similar treaties were signed with other nations; increased business brought increased prosperity.

His edicts give a fascinating picture of the course of his reforms. Each law starts out rather pompously, with the King's full titles and the formula: "By Royal Command, reverberating like the Roar of a Lion." Then comes an almost conversational preamble, outlining the circumstances and reasons that made him issue the edict, often adding gently ironical comments. Finally comes the decree itself.

One of these laws shows his determination not to shut himself

off from his people: "It has been brought to His Majesty's attention that wherever he chooses to proceed by land or water, the authorities always chase his subjects out of the way, ordering them to close all the doors and windows in their houses and shops. Such a practice is graciously considered by His Majesty to be more harmful than good. It is hereby provided that henceforth people gathered along the route of the Royal Procession shall not be chased away, but all householders shall be permitted to appear before the sight of His Majesty, so that he may speak to those he knows and gladden their hearts."

In the same spirit, he used to come out of the Palace at stated intervals to receive the petitions of the people.

He insisted on the principle of toleration in political matters. Judges had formerly been appointed by the King in his own discretion, but now certain ones of them were to be elected—not, indeed, by the people at large (that would have been an idle gesture in those days when there was no such thing as popular education), but by all the princes and government officials.

There are several edicts dealing with the condition of the slaves.



King Mongkut in a European uniform invented by himself



King Mongkut's house in the monastery

Slavery in Siam was not the terrible institution that it was in some other lands—the slaves, who were immensely numerous and not very hard-worked, usually received the same sort of good-natured treatment as poor relations. But they were at the mercy of their masters, and a bad master could make their lives miserable. King Mongkut gave the slaves certain definite rights, and took the first steps that were to lead to complete emancipation in the next reign.

He was equally insistent on toleration in religious matters. "No just ruler," says one of his edicts, "restricts the freedom of his people in the choice of their religious belief by which each man hopes to find strength and salvation in his last hour, as well as in the future beyond." There was hardly a phase of Siamese life that did not interest King Mongkut, hardly an activity that did not receive his benevolent or critical attention.

At the same time that he was doing many things in his role as historian and archaeologist to preserve the culture of the past, the King was giving new vigour to the culture of the present. He had a sure taste in literature and art and could write classical poetry bristling with the traditional Sanskrit, and Pali chants that are models of literary style. But these he knew were of little use for the general public: for them he wrote in clear and homely Siamese.

The King was a great builder. He liked adapting European architecture to Siamese needs. His preference was for cool stuccoed buildings of one storey, ridge-roofed and colonnaded, with judicious touches of the Chinese decoration that had been popular in the previous reign.

What of his private life? What of the big harem which has aroused feelings ranging from envy to hilarity in American audiences?

Anna describes it with all the timeworn stage-properties that Victorian writers kept on hand in case they wanted to depict the organised lechery of Oriental despots—the eunuchs, the hideous sufferings of the women, the brutality of the sensual monarch. Her account is really too absurd to stand unchallenged; and recently a Siamese statesman, who is also an historian, has gone to some pains to set the record straight.

It is quite true that King Mongkut had scores of wives, who presented him with an innumerable offspring. But large-scale polygamy was not a mere device of royal lewdness. Like the god

Indra, whose heavenly court is adorned with thousands of lovely nymphs, tradition insisted that the King, who is Indra on earth, should be served by a large harem. Royal polygamy was also a recognised instrument of statecraft: the king could cement the loyalty of vassal princes and powerful nobles by marrying their daughters. Finally, it was always desirable for a king to provide a numerous succession.

His correspondence shows that he was a devoted and even tender husband to more than one of his wives, and an affectionate father to his many children. He had a smaller harem than his predecessors and except for a few of the ladies to whom he was really attached, he set little store by it. His loyal subjects, wishing to have him for a son-in-law, were more eager to present their daughters to him than he was to accept them. A Royal Edict, reverberating like the roar of a lion, puts the predicament frankly: "the King has far more wives than he needs." It goes on to set up specific rules by which they can resign and marry private persons.

Although she must have known these facts, Anna asserts that one of King Mongkut's wives, having run off with a monk, was publicly tortured and burned at the stake with the partner of her guilt. This is one of the more impossible of Anna's tall stories, for the Siamese have always had a horror of death by fire—whether for themselves or anyone else, and even in medieval times they seldom if ever inflicted this punishment.

On the contrary, King Mongkut allowed his wives to resign at will; and it is a matter of record that when a boatman abducted one of them he was let off with a fine amounting to about six dollars.

"So strange will some of the occurrences related in the following pages appear to western readers, that I deem it necessary to state that they are also true," writes Anna herself in the preface to the book containing this preposterous story of the lady's burning. They seem even more strange to the Siamese.

Whenever there was a solar eclipse, old-fashioned Siamese thought a demon was seizing the sun in his teeth and trying to swallow it. Then they would set up an ear-splitting din, with rattles and drums and firecrackers, in order to scare the demon into letting go.

King Mongkut's interest in eclipses was more scientific. He calculated the exact moment when the total eclipse of 1868 would take place. Having determined that it could be seen best from a remote village in the southern part of his kingdom, he decided to give an intellectual houseparty there to observe it, which included Sir Harry Ord, the British Governor of Singapore and a body of French scientists from Paris.

The party, which was attended by many European and Siamese ladies, was as great a social, as it was a scientific, success. But the King caught a fever during the trip and his health, instead of mending when he reached home, grew worse. A few weeks later he knew he was dying.

He gave his ministers some final advice as to the choice of a successor who would bring opposing factions together and carry on the benevolent revolution he had started. He dictated a farewell message in Pali to the Order of Monks, especially to his former companions at the Excellent Abode Monastery. He begged his closest friends "not to give way to grief nor to any sudden surprise, since death must befall all creatures that come into the world, and may not be avoided."

In death, as in life, the Buddha's example was his model. When unsophisticated men were in doubt about rebirth, he had reminded them of Buddha's advice: "If you are not sure, you had better be on the safe side. If you believe in it, you will lead a good life, gain the respect of all, and lose nothing even if it turns out you have guessed wrong." But he knew this advice was an oversimplification, adapted to the limitations of his listeners.

Yet he himself had been on the safe side—not for any such simple reason, but for a far deeper one. For he knew that through the working of a natural law as immutable as the laws of physics, his deeds would be followed by their consequences—consequences that might not be felt by any surviving consciousness of his own, but that would dominate the destinies of future generations in the land he loved. He had led a good life, and gained the respect of all (except Anna). Now, even if it were to turn out that he had not guessed exactly right, he would have lost nothing.

(Concluded)



SEMAI SENOI DANCERS

THESE pictures, taken secretly with infra-red film, show the Semai Senoi Malay aborigines in North West Pahang, at one of their dances in a long hut. They hunt with blow pipes and live in long huts accommodating up to 20 families. Dancing on special occasions, like the one pictured, takes place at candle light and lasts the whole night without interruption. There are about six dances, some for men, some for women and others mixed. Should one fall down through exhaustion, others will support the dancer through the rest of the dance. Should the dancer be completely exhausted, the head man who is also the medicine man will revive the patient. The girl in the foreground is on the floor in a fit and is supported by her friend.

(Photographs : Douglas C. Pike)





The Jhelum in old Srinagar, where the less luxurious boats are moored

THE Jhelum is their home. Not the clear cool river which glides along the valley of Kashmir and delights the tourist's heart; but that part of it which is imprisoned between walls of crumbling houses in old Srinagar. There its waters are tamed and forced into canals, and what is left of it is dirty, sulky and ill-smelling.

They live on boats—small untidy, shallow-draught vessels, pointed at each end, with roughly thatched roofs and thin wooden walls. They look like shabby Noah's Arks. Alongside the banks of the Jhelum and the twisty, murky canals they lie in their hundreds.

And in the cramped interior of each one of these little boats the full cycle of life takes place. Children are born, play, grow up, get married, make love, in their turn have children, grow old, and die—all to the accompaniment of the lapping of sluggish water.

Unlike their neighbours to the south, the Kashmiris are not a colourful people. In spite of their dingy surroundings—mud banks, muddy water and mud-coloured boats—the women seem to have no yearning for bright colours. One misses the sight of the Indian village woman in her gaudy swinging skirt. The women of the river favour a uniform dirty grey, and their dress differs little both in shape and colour from that of their men. Both wear a long, loose shirt over a pair of baggy trousers. In contrast with the dull practicability of their clothes, however, the jewellery which the women wear is quite fanciful. It consists mainly of silver ear-rings, which are so large and numerous that they have to be supported by a band across the head. As their heads are normally covered, however, the illusion is given that the mass of jangling ear-rings is actually hanging from their ears.

But the occasional glint of silver does little to brighten the scene, and it is left to the little kingfishers to bring colour to the homes of the river people. So great is the contrast between the bright blues and golds of these birds and the sombre browns and greys of their surroundings that they are as unexpected

THE PEOPLE OF THE RIVER

By Yvonne Hull

and out of place as humming birds on a Christmas tree; and one wonders whimsically if their brilliant plumage can have any other purpose than to bring beauty to where beauty appears to have been forgotten.

Not that the Kashmiris are lacking in physical beauty. They are slender, fair-skinned people, whose eyes and hair vary from light brown to black. Their faces are usually oval, and their noses long, straight and well-formed. Again and again, in all parts of the valley, one sees the same face—the same deep forehead, the same high cheek-bones, long nose, curved nostrils, thin lips and pointed chin; and one is led to suppose that there has been close intermarriage in the valley for generations. Some of the young girls are extremely beautiful. Indeed, Kashmir maidens were regarded as rare prizes by the many conquerors who, through the centuries, came to disturb the peace of the valley. Perhaps it is this memory which has fashioned the unbecoming dress which is worn by the Kashmiri peasant woman of today.

But, for the poor and hard-working, beauty is swift in passing, and the life of the woman of the Jhelum is no easy one. Married young, she bears many children, and besides cooking, washing and cleaning for her man and her brood, she must help to pole the boat along. The boats, besides being homes, are used as barges and often take on heavy loads such as coal, timber or bricks. Then moving them is a slow, tedious business. Man and wife—and children when they are big enough—each take a pole and heave the creaking boat along, a few feet at a time, through the winding canals and along the shallow parts of the river and lakes. Each push on the pole calls for tremendous effort—and even in Srinagar, which is over 5,000 feet high, summer days are hot.

At least there is no water-carrying to be done. Water is the one thing these people have in plenty—right outside the door. As you pass along by their moored boats you hear a continual splashing sound, and you see arms stretching out through the windows holding dishes or babies to be washed, vegetables to be rinsed, and cans to be filled or emptied. Occasionally, too, you see a dish filled with the water and raised to a thirsty mouth.

But they survive. Incredibly, they even seem to flourish—particularly the children who squat on the banks, sometimes pushing each other in, and swimming about and laughing. While they are young, life is one long seaside holiday—except that there is no ice-cream. Too many of the poor mites have those suspiciously fat tummies which speak of malnutrition.

The children are not the only ones who enjoy a bathe. Quite frequently one comes upon groups of women besporting themselves in the water. They show surprising unconcern at being caught naked by strangers, but simply, apparently rather

reluctantly, submerge themselves up to the shoulders in the water, which is fortunately dirty enough to preserve their modesty.

After they are themselves clean and refreshed, they proceed to wash their clothes. They use no soap, but simply beat the garment on a stone until the dirt is forced out. Yet they are not so proficient in this art as the washermen in the nearby "dhobi-ghats." They are a sight to behold as they raise themselves to their full height and, with a beautiful sweeping motion, bring a sheet crashing down on to a stone. "Me beat clothes on stone, memsahib? Never, memsahib!"

Among the people of the river there are farmers. Some of them have plots of land alongside the river and the lakes, always within reach of the precious water. They irrigate their land by means of ditches. To raise the water up to these ditches they have invented a very simple but effective machine. It consists of a long beam of wood, with a stone at one end and a bucket at the other, fastened in the middle to a rough frame. When out of use it remains in a vertical position; but when water is required the end with the bucket attached is hauled down by a rope; the bucket is allowed to fill with water, and is then raised to the level of the ditch by the weight of the stone at the other end.

Other people have their plots of land directly on the water. Round the shallow edges of the lakes are a profusion of floating islands. They are almost all the same shape—long rectangles about a yard wide and varying from ten to twenty yards in length. They are arranged parallel to each other and a few feet apart, so that the farmer can push along between them in his shikara and tend his vegetables. If he decides that the site he has chosen for his garden is unsuitable, he can always un-anchor it and tow it to a better place.

The lake, as well as providing water, provides the farmer with manure. Apart from a small area where the bottom was paved by the enterprising Shah Jehan, Dal Lake is full of thick, tangling weed which—when decaying—forms an excellent fertilizer. The men go out in their shikaras to collect the weed, usually in the evening or very early morning. They pull it out by means of long poles and pile it into the shikaras until the poor little craft seem on the point of foundering.

They are queer craft, these shikaras: long, shallow punts with pointed, upturned ends—like a slice of water-melon or the cross-section of a saucer. Sometimes they are poled along, but more often the boatman crouches up in the bows and propels it along by means of a heart-shaped paddle. An amateur finds these shikaras difficult craft to handle, but the river people can do anything with them. Indeed, I have seen one of them standing in the bows of a shikara during a storm, repairing the sail of a moving yacht.

The children can handle shikaras almost as soon as they can walk, and they try to make money by running into the great lotus beds and picking the sacred blooms to sell to the tourists. The lotus is called sacred because during its four days of life the flower is constantly changing the position of its petals—striving to attain perfection, they say. From a distance it appears almost to have achieved perfection, standing high above its leaves, proud, waxen and rose-coloured. But, cut and close-to, it is a disappointment. It loses all its dignity and poise and becomes—a fleshy, pink cabbage.

Some of the more enterprising of the river-people have fitted up their native craft with curtains and cushions, and turned them into gondolas for the enjoyment of the tourist. They bear large name-plates which read something like this: "Nancy, Full Spring Seats, Sun-Proof." Other boats have been



Luxurious houseboats on Dal Lake

smartened up and fitted out as travelling shops, displaying the embroidery, the carved woodwork and the papier-mache, which, because of the high quality of the craftsmanship and the low quality of the material so often used, have brought both fame and notoriety to the Kashmiri craftsmen.

The real lords of the river are the house-boat owners. Their boats are clean, tidy Noah's Arks with proper roofs and windows, carpets on the floors, electric light and sanitation. To them, with their rich and supposedly influential guests, the whole river from the poorest coolie to the richest tradesman pay homage.

But the dominion of the house-boat men is already threatened. Whatever anyone says about the British in India, no one—not even the politicians—deny that they brought a lot of business to hotel-keepers and house-boat owners. The old house-boat man shakes his head over his worn carpets and his cracked windows and talks nostalgically of those other times, when people came to spend not two or three weeks on his boat, but two or three months. Those were the days of leisure, when the menfolk had time to go and shoot bear and hook the trout in the tumbling white mountain streams, and their ladies could paint pretty water-colour pictures of the lake. In those days there were not "To Let" signs fluttering outside half the boats. House-boat owner and shikara wallah grew fat and happy, and at night river and lake were as full of lights as the sky of stars. The crumbling shops on the waterfront were going concerns then, and even the woodcarver could afford seasoned wood on which to display his art.

But Kashmir, whose countryside is perhaps more peaceful and richer in beauty than any other in the world has rarely been allowed to enjoy peace or riches. Once again the Cinderella of the Indian continent finds herself the centre of political strife. When the instrument of partition was signed the ball was practically over for her. Ever since, the door on the rich tourist traffic has been gradually closing, and the ugly sisters, War and Poverty, are always there, whispering in the background. And so Kashmir must resign herself to her rags and pick up her broom again.

It is sad to see these fine old house-boats gradually decaying and the shikaras, in spite of their awnings and springing, lying empty. It is sadder still to know that unless there is a sudden change in Kashmir's fortunes the sons of those men who once had riches in their grasp may have to revert to the poorer, darker reaches of the river, where the kingfisher alone has colour.



Detail of rock carving on the south wall of the temple

SHIVITE LAKHA MANDAL

By Pauline Humphrey (Bombay)

IT is not a well-known temple. In fact it was the Postmaster in Chakrata who first suggested a visit to Lakha Mandal. "Famous temple for Hindu pilgrims," he said. "Not so big as Badranath, but that is too far away."

Such is the attraction of Badranath in all its remoteness, that a lesser shrine spoken of in the same breath seems highly desirable. Chakrata was the starting point—now a ghost of a place. In its day, it had been a thriving military hill station with tennis clubs, a polo ground and all the trappings. This region of Himalayan foothill scenery is probably among the most grandiose in the Dehra Dun district.

Coolies to carry bedding and food were engaged—looking very like Nepalese sherpas—and it had to be a dawn departure, for distances are invariably greater than they are said to be.

There is a narrow mountain path all the way. It switchbacks over a dozen peaks and valleys and then weaves in and out and around giant rocky hills. At the twenty mile mark there is the tiny hamlet of Bhattar, which has a splendid view of the ice-capped Himalayan range. From there the path bends steeply downwards for two miles until suddenly through a clump of trees the temple shows against the sky. Like much extreme North-Indian and Nepalese temple architecture, Lakha Mandal strikes something of a Chinese pagoda chord at first sight.

Darkness was gathering swiftly and *charpoy*s were set up for us on a wooden platform with a roof but no walls. This was the pilgrims' shack in the temple compound, there being no visitors' bungalow nearer than five miles up in the hills on the other side of the river Jumna.

Very early in the morning, the temple bells ring, drums beat *saddhus* chant and the whole village, which is the same as saying the temple, is awake. Some of the houses open on to the temple courtyard, and there on its fringes squat the women mixing and moulding *chappaties* for the day.

The archaeological authorities have done a good deal at Lakha Mandal. A very small but well laid out museum has been arranged in one corner of the compound, incorporating many of the stones and statues which were found half buried on the site. There is a black-stone slab of the Seven Mothers in relief with Lakulisa at one end and Ganapati at the other. Three representations of Shiva fighting the demon Tripura, and others showing the dance of Shiva—who has eight arms holding symbols—are the more notable of the other exhibits.

The temple itself is of course dedicated to Shiva. It is actually only the later version of a very much older and more splendid temple of which unhappily nothing now remains save the floor and the black-stone *linga* on its square pedestal.

The two black-stone images guarding the entrance to the temple are described by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni in his Survey of 1924 as being probably the doorkeepers Jaya and Vijayah. These originally flanked the doors of the older shrine and have only recently been moved to the existing temple.

The people of the place are hill-folk—Jaun Saris. Their women do most of the work in the roughly terraced fields and generally look more robust than the men. The sari is rarely, if ever, seen and the usual costume is a cotton blouse, very like a *choli*, with a heavily gathered skirt of bright colours. Gaily patterned hand-woven blankets are used, for at 3,650 feet high and as close to the Himalayas as this, it can be very cool.

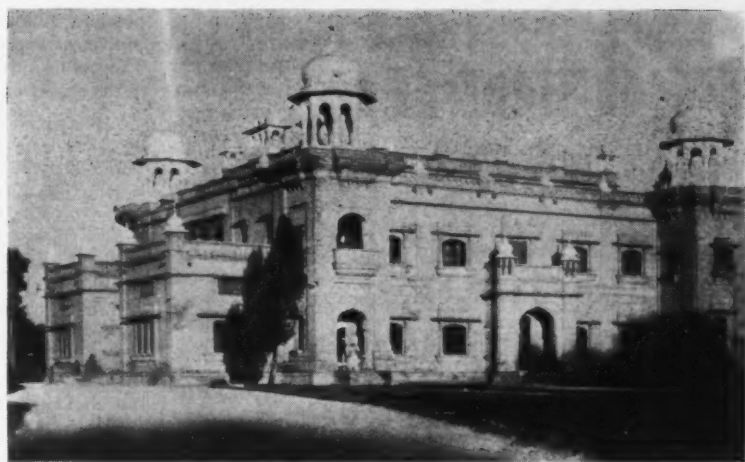
It was not the pilgrimage season, but the scene at such times would not be hard to imagine. Columns of people coming in from near and far, the young and the old, some having walked anything up to a hundred miles, the bells clanging, the holy men reciting their verses, the processions up and down the well-beaten path to the sacred Jumna, tributary of "Mother Ganges," and the air of festivity and dedication in this tiny out-of-the-way settlement.



South wall of Lakha Mandal

PESHAWAR MUSEUM

By *Ali Nasir Zaidi*
(*Kakul, Pakistan*)



PESHAWAR is one of the oldest cities of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and Peshawar Museum is rich in ancient treasures and works of art. But a visitor can enjoy their beauty only when he knows something about their origin and can connect them with history and legend.

The Peshawar Valley was known in ancient times as Gandhara and has had great historical importance. At the time of the invasion by Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. the valley was ruled by a Raja, named Astes by the Greeks, whose capital was Pushkaravati, the present Charsaddah. The larger part of the sculptures assembled in the Peshawar Museum have been excavated from the Gandhara Valley. Most of the excavations were made at Charsaddah (Pushkaravati), the ancient capital of Gandhara.

The inspiration behind the marvellous sculptures which are exhibited in Peshawar Museum was purely religious. This force impelled its devotees to dedicate to shrines and temples, memorials of all kinds not only for strengthening or displaying their own faith in a practical form but to impress others and propagate their religion. Today, they have perhaps lost their religious importance but they undoubtedly give weight to the historical theories concerning that period of the valley's history.

The sculptures in the entrance hall of the Peshawar Museum are principally those which have been excavated at Sahrebahol and Takht-i-Bhai. The large standing Buddha is from the village of Lahore, the ancient Salatura, the birthplace of Panini. The two magnificent Buddha images flanking the arch were recovered at Sahrebahol in 1909-10. The hole in the forehead, the drapery, the elongated lobes of the ears, the light moustache and the indication of the pupil of the eye are all remarkable features of these images. The standing Buddha, with the begging bowl, was found at Takht-i-Bhai. There are many sculptures placed in the central hall including an unrivalled collection of Gandhara images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas. From the modelling of the faces and treatment of the hair and drapery, it is established that the art belongs to a period when the old school was in its full vigour and the artists of this valley could execute in stone works of considerable merit.

In addition to the museum's collection of complete statues, there are many fragmentary sculptures which were excavated at Sahrebahol and Shah-ji-ki-Dheri in 1910-11. Despite their condition, in many cases it is still possible to describe with some certainty the compositions of which they once formed part. The excavations made at Takht-i-Bhai yielded a surprisingly large number of Buddha heads which have been arranged in the museum and include smooth, beautiful pieces, as well as some coarse and insipid ones.

The name of Gautama Buddha, while he was a prince, was Siddhartha, and his father had married him to a beautiful princess in order to falsify the prophecy about his renunciation. This ceremony has been depicted in a sculpture which represents the essential rites of that time—the union of hands round the sacred fire and the aspersion of water. In one piece, the couple, hand in hand, stand on either side of the fire which is flanked by water pots, a woman with palm-leaf fan and a drummer serving to indicate the marriage party.

The museum is fortunate in having a sculpture which represents

the six years of extraordinary hardship in Siddhartha's life before he became Buddha. Another valuable specimen from Takht-i-Bhai represents the story of the two merchants, and this is the only piece depicting this legend so far found in Gandhara art. A caravan of merchants happened to approach the grove wherein Buddha sat for his famous enlightenment. The two merchants were Trapusha and Bhallika of Orissa. They had two bullocks at the head of the caravan in order to give warning in case of danger. On nearing the grove, these bullocks suddenly showed signs of fear and refused to advance. It was also found that the wheels of the wagons had become mysteriously fixed. The merchants were terrified. Then appeared the Genius of the grove in bodily form and told them of the Buddha's presence and his need for food. They approached him with offerings of honeycomb and wheat, which he received in the four-fold bowl. The accuracy with which the whole story has been depicted in stone is remarkable.

Another story which has been represented by a relief in the museum runs as follows: A certain king's senior wives became jealous of his youngest and most beautiful wife. They bribed the palace Brahman to inform the king that the youngest Rani and her child, when born, would bring ruin to the whole kingdom. The superstitious king had the queen immured alive in a tomb. But, on account of her innocence she was not only delivered of a living son but was also able to rear him. The child, Sudaya, remained within the tomb for three years until the wall crumbled and he was freed. He lived in the jungle for three more years with birds and wild animals as his only companions, sheltering in the tomb. The Buddha was filled with pity for the child. He visited the spot, and the young Sudaya became a monk. In this relief the tomb is seen with an open front from where projects the upper part of the body of the dead woman. Her left side has been depicted as completely lifeless whereas the right side is round and full, as if that of a living woman. The naked little child standing with his back to the tomb is Sudaya. His hands are clasped to show his adoration of the Buddha who advances towards him.

Sculptures representing the miraculous powers of the Buddha are rare in Gandhara art, but an acquisition in this museum shows the Buddha in the air with a stream of water beneath his feet and flames issuing from his shoulders. He performed this miracle in the presence of King Prasenajit and a vast crowd of people. The museum has more than 20 reliefs illustrating this legend.

The museum also contains several representations of another popular legend in which a wandering monk, Makandika, is overcome by Buddha's personal beauty, and offers him his beautiful daughter, Anupama. The Great Teacher refuses this offer. In this relief Makandika has been shown turning towards the Buddha, holding the shrinking and embarrassed Anupama by his left hand, his right hand holds aloft the water pot, indicating his intended gift.

ECONOMIC SECTION

ASIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION

By T. N. Handa

THE problem of Asia in a nutshell is the problem of more and more people living on less and less cultivable land.

This is aggravated by the presence of uneconomic land tenure systems which hinder any development of the area. Any plan for the development of the area must therefore take into account the size of the farming unit, and the method by which agriculture is to be carried on. Is it to be along the lines of peasant proprietorship or by organising cooperative farms? This is the dilemma which every democrat is confronted with, as the individual has to be respected and not submerged in a mass of inhuman statistics.

The solution to the problem lies in the rapid development of the area along democratic lines. The people must be made to feel that they have a stake in the various economic plans, and that they are not creatures of some bureaucrats at the helm of affairs. Cooperative organisation is useful as it is democratic. It also has a cohesive value and, further, as far as agriculture is concerned, it helps to enlarge the area of agricultural production.

In the past, cooperation has been applied in the rural credit field with not very satisfactory results. The farmer with an uneconomic farm of one to two acres has clearly not been a dependable person to lend money to, and hence the movement has suffered. Asian agriculture is in a chronic state. The farming in this region is essentially dwarf farming, not even small scale farming. It was a sad mistake to treat credit as if it could create capital and make even the dwarf farms economic. The root cause of the trouble has been the uneconomic size of the farming unit. Cooperation has to be used to meet this challenge, and help to create viable agricultural farms.

It is not necessary to create collective farms as has happened in the Asian republics of the USSR. Cooperative farming in Asia should be based on the village communal traditions and organisation, since apart from the fact that all men have deep social instincts, Asian peasants are on the whole open to moral appeals, and loyal to common enterprises to which they are pledged.

The cooperative movement in Asia has however to gain momentum from the top, and it is necessary for the state machinery to be used in order to bring this about. Unfortunately there is no room for voluntary cooperation. This suggestion may strike horror in the heart of the liberally minded, but it is not realised that the problem of rural reconstruction in Asia is so complex that perhaps no economic development is

possible without a far-reaching social revolution. In Asia the problems can certainly not be solved by spontaneous cooperation. The only future for cooperation is therefore as an instrument in the economic policy of a Government.

It is a pity that Governments in Asia are not using cooperation on a widespread scale. There is too much experimentation, and one notices a slight degree of hesitation in starting new schemes. In India there has been no clarity in the formulation of agricultural policies by the Government. The Indian land reform acts are some of the measures which show this confusion of thought. We witness here the desirable passing away of the landlord class, which was inefficient and hence the scourge of Indian agriculture. But in doing this we also notice the splitting up of economic units into small uneconomic farms. These will definitely be fragmented into even smaller units in the long run, and hence will lead to the creation of small farms not even large enough to bury the farmer.

The Indian Government on the other hand whilst abolishing landlordism should have stipulated that cooperative farming should be the only legal method of farming. There would then have been no fragmentation of holdings. The unit of agricultural production would have been larger, and more modern techniques of farming could have been applied on an economic basis.

It is not suggested that cooperative farms should be created at once over the area of the country. Nothing could be more damaging to the cause of cooperation. One has to be careful in these cases not to be too rigid, as there is a great deal of dislocation caused by retraction. The State Governments in India could create cooperative farms in a certain area in each state, and spread out the period for creating these enterprises over a period of ten years. In this way suitable modifications

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The author is Lecturer in Economics at the North London Literary Institute and also at the University of London Goldsmiths' College.

could be adopted, agricultural workers could be trained, and the surplus labour completely absorbed in the newly created secondary industries.

The critics of cooperation state that the peasant being an independent person, will not allow himself willingly to become a member of an impersonal organisation such as a cooperative. This is a serious factor to be reckoned with, but a correct analysis of the rural life in Asia also reveals a great degree of interdependence in a village. In fact the cooperative in its embryonic form already exists in a village. The ploughing and harvesting operations are carried out by the joint efforts of the village community, and it should not be too revolutionary a step if a cooperative were permanently created by Government decree. Account will have to be taken of the independent instincts of the farmer, by providing him with suitable shares in the Cooperative Society, but in this case also care will have to be taken so that former landlords do not control the organisation.

A great deal of Government help will have to be given during the early stages, but in this case, too, care will have to be taken so that the Advisory Officers do not command but *advise*. The Asian countries could provide some technical officers, but these will not be enough to get such a vast scheme started. A good technical expert could cover about 800 villages, providing he is on tour for about three weeks in a month. Foreign experts could therefore have Asian trainees attached to them,

who could be trained to take over the job in about five or six years from the time they start their work. The aid to Asian countries in the future should be in the form of providing technicians. Material aid is also necessary, but technicians will be more useful, as they can help in starting the new Asian agrarian revolution.

It has been stated that Asia is overpopulated. The propagators of this theory in the opinion of the writer are oversimplifying the problem. The most densely populated areas are the fertile parts in each country but there are other areas such as the states of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Vindhya Pradesh, which cover an area exactly half the size of India, which are almost as sparsely populated as Western Australia. These are good lands and with proper irrigation facilities they could easily absorb the surplus populations from other areas. The Government could create cooperative farms and direct some of the landless peasantry to these states.

Cooperation in Asia has suffered, because it has always been treated on an experimental plane. True it is necessary to give thought to a problem before trying to solve it, but it is dangerous to stop any innovation through faint-heartedness. It has been realised that the economic development of Asia depends upon a solution of the twin problems of food production, and overpopulation of rural areas. In the view of the writer it is only by means of cooperatives that this problem can be tackled.

SCANDINAVIAN FIRMS EXPORT "KNOW-HOW" TO JAPAN

By a Special Correspondent

AT the end of the war Japan was faced with the tremendous task of economic rehabilitation and of establishing a balanced economy. One of the greatest obstacles in carrying out this aim was the fact that many of her industries were lagging behind other industrialised countries as far as technology was concerned. Japan, therefore, embarked on a policy of importing western technology, and in 1950 the Foreign Investment Law guaranteeing remittances abroad of compensations for long-term contracts for technological assistance, and the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Control Law providing for remittance abroad on short-term deals, were promulgated. By the end of 1954 the number of contracts for imported technology was over 430, over 70 per cent. of these with American firms. This high percentage can be explained by US policy towards Japan, US capital investment in Japan and by its accompanying factors.

Japanese industrialists are, however, well aware that in many cases the technology and technological methods of other countries (with smaller industrial units) are more suitable for adoption in Japan. Important contracts have, therefore, been signed with leading firms of countries like Sweden, Denmark and others.

In the electrical industry the Danish firm Nordiska Kabel of Træfabriker signed an agreement with Furukawa Electric Co., Ltd., for the manufacture of "flat-type" cables. The agreement is for a period of seven years and was concluded at the beginning of 1953. In the field of transportation machinery the Danish concern Burmeister and Wain, Copenhagen, which in the pre-war period had

supplied technological experience to Japanese firms, renewed the contract in November, 1950, for a period of 10 years. The contract was signed with Mitsui Shipbuilding and Engineering Co., which granted a sub-licence to K.K. Hitacho Seisakusho, and these two concerns are manufacturing engines for merchant vessels. Other Japanese firms have signed contracts concerning the manufacture of diesel engines with the Swiss firm Sulzer Brothers, and the German concern M.A.N.

All these technological connections have enabled the Japanese firms to improve the quality of their products and at the same time to lower their production costs by about 8 per cent.

Due to the advance in the technology of the diesel engines and the development of shipbuilding and shipping industries in Asian countries, Burmeister and Wain have been very active in India and other Asian countries. In May, 1951, the Swedish firm Ljungströms Angturbin concluded an eight-year agreement on the manufacture of steam turbines with Shin Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Co., while the Swedish firm Goeteverken signed, in March, 1953, a contract for a period of 10 years with Mitsui Shipbuilding and Engineering Co. on the manufacture of steam turbo-compressors for marine use.

The Japanese firm K.K. Gadelius Shokai has signed several contracts with Swedish firms to receive technological assistance. These deals include agreements with A.B. Superior on the manufacture of equipment for Superior automatic soot blowers; with A.B. Arca Regulator on the manufacture of automatic pressure, temperature and

humidity regulators of steam, gas and liquids; with A.B. Kamyr on the manufacture of pulp bleaching apparatus; with A.B. Ljungstroms Angturbin on the manufacture of regenerative pre-heating of air systems for steam boilers; with A.B. Kalle-Regulator on the manufacture of automatic regulators of pressure; with Wallquist and Co. on the manufacture of pulp and paper making apparatus; with Leje and Thurne A.B. on the manufacture of apparatus for dissolving pulp and for recovering fibre in waste water, etc. All these agreements were concluded in 1951 and 1952 for a duration of five years.

Kawasaki Dockyard Co. signed a nine years' agree-

ment for the manufacture of Imo-pumps and motors with the Swedish firm A.B. Imo Industry in 1951, while Kobe Steel Works Ltd. signed in 1952 a 10-year agreement with Svenska Rotor Maskiner A.B. in the field of manufacture of hydraulic converters.

Among the principal cases of acquisition of stock of Japanese companies by foreign concerns is the purchase of 60 per cent. of the total share capital of the Kyokko Trading Co. Ltd. by the Danish concern East Asiatic Company, which has widespread and well-established interests in the Far East. This Danish company acquired 120,000 shares for which the amount of Y6m. was paid in November, 1950.

TRADE IN 1954 BETWEEN FINLAND AND ASIA

By Ake Londen (Helsinki)

THE woodworking industry, based on the rich forest resources of the country, is the mainstay of Finnish economy. Wood and paper products accounted, in 1946-1952 for about 90 per cent. of Finland's total annual exports. However, after the fulfilment of the war reparations deliveries (in 1952), the heaviest burden of which was borne by the metal-working and engineering industry, this branch of production has been able to increase its sales abroad considerably and to direct them, not only to the USSR, but also to other markets. Consequently, the share of the country's metal-working industry products represented last year 13.4 per cent. of her total exports. The woodworking industry is still overwhelmingly Finland's main export industry, covering 80 per cent. of her total exports, while the remaining 6.6 per cent. consist of grain, cheese, staple, fibre, leather, fur skins, cement, ceramics and glass, matches, etc.

Finland's industrial production and export capacity are now greater than before the war, and they have by no means reached their limit. Extensive enlargements are being carried out especially within the wood-pulp, newsprint and the other paper industries.

In 1954, Finland's foreign trade recorded high figures, reflecting the favourable market conditions which her export products enjoyed. In volume, Finnish exports attained an all-time peak. The total value of last year's exports amounted to 156,618m. marks (£242m.), being larger by 19 per cent. than in the previous year, and that of imports to 152,137m. marks (£236m.), representing an increase of 25 per cent.

The expansion of Finland's trade with Asia is even more noticeable. Her trade with countries to the east of Afghanistan increased in 1954 by nearly 40 per cent., as compared with the year 1953. Exports to these countries grew by 6.5 per cent. and imports more than doubled (106 per cent.), while in 1953 imports accounted for exactly 50 per cent. of her exports—last year they were smaller by 3.4 per cent. only. Finnish statistics of imports from China do not include the Chinese products (egg yolk, green tea, etc.) which Finland has sold direct to other countries—as a rule, only about one-third of the commodities bought from China are consumed in Finland; consequently, in 1954 Finland purchased from the East far more goods than she sold to these markets.

China is still Finland's most important trading partner in Asia, being followed by Japan, India, Malaya, Indonesia, and Ceylon; this order has not changed since 1953. Exports to these countries grew continuously, except in the case of Japan; the last-mentioned country, however, increased her shipments to Finland. Similarly, Finnish imports from Malaya, Burma and China were much larger. In 1954, the total trade with Asian countries to the east of Afghanistan amounted to £11.9m. The table below shows the development of trade between Finland and the most important customers in the Asian market area (values expressed in millions of Finnish marks, £1=646 marks):

	TOTAL TRADE		EXPORTS		IMPORTS	
	1954	1953	1954	1953	1954	1953
China ...	2,170	1,607	1,515	1,248	655	359
Japan ...	1,437	1,144	316	713	1,121	431
India ...	1,207	925	997	836	210	89
Malaya ...	1,140	686	133	56	1,007	630
Indonesia ...	553	370	299	174	254	196
Ceylon ...	375	253	237	152	139	101
Burma ...	366	36	38	36	328	—
Pakistan ...	232	221	170	201	62	20
Hong Kong ...	130	90	129	90	—	—
Thailand ...	56	90	51	90	5	—
Indo-China ...	29	32	25	23	4	9
Philippines ...	18	74	8	67	9	7
Korea ...	8	—	8	17	—	—
Total ...	7,721	5,528	3,926	3,686	3,794	1,842

In her trade with East Asia, Finland traditionally holds a prominent position as an exporter of wood and paper. Last year—as was the case already in 1953—her principal export articles were paper, cellulose, and cardboard. Of the 41,890 tons of paper exported to the eastern countries, 25,723 tons went to India, 5,900 to China, 3,490 to Indonesia, and 3,470 to Malaya. Newsprint was the main item in these paper shipments. India maintained her position as the most important buyer of newsprint (17,843 tons), followed by China (3,408 tons), Malaya (2,136 tons), Hong Kong (1,839 tons), and Japan (1,732 tons). The largest quantities of writing and printing paper were shipped to India (4,444 tons), China (3,625 tons), and Indonesia (3,465 tons), the total amount of these qualities exported to Asia being 17,362 tons. Malaya was the greatest importer of Kraft paper (372 tons), followed by Indonesia (350 tons), India (112 tons), and Indo-China (109 tons), the total amount of Kraft paper exported to Asia being 1,004 tons. Burma expanded her purchases of paper bags, reaching a total of 112 tons; the next most important buyer was India (36 tons).

Hong Kong ranked first as the buyer of wallboard (416 tons); next came Malaya (371 tons), Indo-China (264 tons), Thailand (254 tons), India (212 tons), and China (210 tons). The total amount exported to these countries was 1,900 tons. Malaya was the principal importer of cardboard (532 tons), closely followed by Pakistan (525 tons) and Hong Kong (500 tons). These three countries imported more than 50 per cent. of the total quantity despatched to Asia (3,007 tons). Japan was the only importer of Finnish cellulose, with a total of 7,237 tons, of which 5,799 tons were rayon pulp and 1,437 tons sulphite pulp. The total amount of plywood exported to the Asian countries was 15,224 cubic metres. Ceylon imported 6,638

cubic metres, India 4,355, Pakistan 2,401, and Indonesia 1,538 cubic metres. Ceylon also bought tea boxes (27 tons), and Indo-China bobbins (32 tons).

Of the metal-working and engineering industry products it may be mentioned that China purchased a vessel (value 778m. marks), as well as 405 tons of copper (worth 96m. marks), electric machines (8m. marks), instruments (9m. marks), other machinery (0.5m. marks), and another vessel (value 29m. marks) was sold to Hong Kong. Some sales of sports guns and cartridges took place to India and to the Philippines. The total value of the metal-working and engineering industry products exported to countries in Eastern Asia was 935m. marks (in 1953, 220m.).

As to imports, the principal items bought from these countries were rubber, soya beans, tea, and cotton textiles. The great increase in imports from Japan was caused by the purchase of a tanker; Japan also shipped cotton textiles to Finland to the value of 185m. marks. Finnish imports of rubber totalled 2,247m. marks, the most important suppliers being Malaya (9,020 tons) and Indonesia (378 tons). China occupied the first place as a supplier of soya beans (12,950 tons, value 376m. marks). In Finnish imports of tea, Ceylon

held the first position (272 tons), which she already had in 1953, while India and Indonesia came next (215 and 60 tons respectively). Finland received also cotton textiles (value 25m. marks) from India.

The remainder of Finland's imports from the countries in East Asia consisted of the following commodities: phosphates, colophon, rattan and feathers, from China (mainly for re-export); jute cloth, cardamom, coir yarns, fibres, and goat skins, from India; fishing nets, cable and buttons, from Japan; tin, spices, rattan, and kapok, from Indonesia and Malaya.

The above survey seems to justify an optimistic view regarding the possibilities for development of trade between Finland and Asia. It should perhaps also be emphasised that Finland, having gained a wide knowledge of industrial planning, is able to offer valuable technical assistance to the countries now entering a phase of advancing industrialisation. As an indication of the growing interest in trade with Finland may be mentioned the continuously increasing number of letters which the Finnish Foreign Trade Association daily receives from business men in the East who seek contacts with Finnish importers and exporters. This augurs well for the future development of trade between Finland and Asia.

ASIA AND OFFICE MECHANISATION

By a Special Correspondent

FEW industries in the United Kingdom have made such remarkable progress in recent years, both in the home and export markets, as has that manufacturing office equipment. Before the war the total output of this industry in Britain amounted to little more than £2½m. a year, whereas last year its exports alone amounted to between seven and eight times that value and its total output fell little short of £50m.

Now keen salesmen as the members of this industry may be, there must be more to such remarkable expansion than this, for as Sir Ben Lockspeiser, head of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, recently pointed out, the primary driving force which sooner or later compels the adoption of new tools and new machines, is economics, and all other factors are subsidiary.

In the Far East, realisation of the value, particularly of statistical and accountancy aids, is growing in major government departments and in insurance, banks and major trading undertakings, but export figures of the British industry, which is after all the world's second largest supplier of office equipment, do not suggest that the advantages of other types of new office aids are anything like so universally appreciated.

For instance, not long ago a large installation of punched card statistical equipment was ordered for the Provincial Statistical Board and Bureau of Commercial and Industrial Intelligence of the Government of East Bengal at Dacca. This installation was very rapidly brought into action for aiding the compilation of the results of the last Pakistan population census whereby, reported the *Times* of Karachi on July 22 last, "the various analyses were completed much sooner and with a far greater degree of accuracy and economy than possible by any other method." Now the equipment has been further augmented and Dr. Sadeque, Director of the Statistical Board, has indicated his intention of undertaking the compilation of a wider variety of statistics relating to, among other subjects, retail and wholesale prices, births and deaths, educational facilities and examination results, industrial projects—including cottage industries—jute cultivation, food production and livestock holdings, a comprehensive survey which without suitable office equipment would probably be impossible.

While it is true that such equipment as this is on too large

and expensive a scale for most undertakings in the Far East other than government departments, insurance concerns, banks and some great trading houses, nevertheless there is much smaller machinery which could often prove invaluable to thousands of concerns at present content to carry on with old-fashioned methods. For instance one small hand-operated machine has been recently introduced, which costs less than £50. This little machine both adds and multiplies and is so designed that several keys may be depressed simultaneously to index complete amounts at a time. Its "short-cut" keyboard cuts out all time normally wasted indexing ciphers, which print automatically, and thereby enables nearly one-third of most normal work of this kind to be carried out without the operator even touching a key.

This machine, is, of course, only one of hundreds of accounting machinery aids, but despite the fact that the East imports more of this type of office equipment from Britain than any other, the details are small indeed when compared with those of shipments to the USA, Europe, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Last year, for instance, Japan was the largest Far Eastern purchaser of British accounting and calculating machinery and she took some £104,764-worth, but even this amount was small compared with, say, the nearly £750,000-worth Australia took from the UK in the same period. And after Japan came India with imports amounting to some £50,000-worth, a sum more than the imports of similar equipment from the UK of Pakistan, Singapore, Hong Kong and most of the Far East together excepting Burma.

Britain's other principal office equipment export to the Far East is typewriters. The table below shows the principal importers in 1954:

	£
Burma	61,192
Singapore	42,548
India	28,159
Pakistan	25,274
Thailand	21,071
Hong Kong	19,408
Ceylon	16,361

But in addition to typewriters and machinery for figure

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work there is a wealth of new office aids being manufactured in Great Britain which can prove an immeasurable time-saver in the busy office—duplicators, addressing machines, cash registers, note and coin counters, filing systems, loose-leaf ledgers for every possible type of work, photo-copying devices, microfilm cameras, dictating machines, etc.—shipments of which to the Far East are still extremely small.

For instance, India last year bought £22,983-worth of British duplicators—these figures do not include the bigger offset-lithographic machines—Pakistan only £6,550 ; Singapore £16,697 ; Hong Kong £4,481 ; Indonesia £26,230 ; Thailand £14,673. At first glance these figures seem impressive but compare them with Canada: £90,000; the USA (the largest producer of office equipment in the world herself): £263,000 ; France: £167,000 and Australia: £81,000, and one wonders perhaps whether the full value of these machines in dealing with the modern clerical problem is fully appreciated.

Next June, the Office Appliance and Business Equipment Trades Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland are staging at London's Olympia the biggest Business Efficiency

Exhibition ever held in the UK. At this display, to be opened by the President of the Board of Trade on June 6th, a very special drive is to be made to attract overseas buyers. There will, of course, be on show the very latest electronic computers, etc., but the wealth of labour-saving devices for medium and small-sized businesses will be very much in evidence.

A lot has been done to show that the British industry is mindful of the especial problems of business men in the Far East. For instance, exhibits will include a machine for counting coins of any denomination, any size or shape, at a rate of 2,000 a minute ; another for counting banknotes at a speed of 50,000 an hour, and electric duplicators which will reproduce 100 copies of a single-page document a minute.

One of the typewriting firms who will be taking part offers no fewer than forty different keyboards for their standard machine, according to the language required, and keyboards and machine chassis are always interchangeable.

Accounting and calculating machines which are easily switched from the decimal to sterling systems and back again, will be much in evidence, so will postal franking machines designed in agreement with the postal departments of the countries concerned, to frank almost any country in the world's particular postage.

Several years ago I was in the office equipment section of the British Industries Fair when it was visited by U Nu the Prime Minister of Burma. The visit was arranged by the Board of Trade as one of those organised tours for notable visitors, but U Nu spent three-quarters of an hour at one stand examining and having demonstrated a new electric duplicator, an order for which he placed personally before he left. This is mentioned as an indication of the importance that can justifiably be paid to office equipment. Last year, Burma, one of the biggest Far Eastern purchasers, bought £14,482-worth of duplicators from Britain.

The fact is that in most industrial countries today such a high percentage of the working population is engaged in clerical work that only by the most efficient and economic operation of such departments can prices be cut and sales expanded. In the Far East where the same labour problems may not exist there still remains the same call for efficiency, and in routine work the machine not only proves itself the faster worker but also the more accurate.

Company Reports

THE HONGKONG AND SHANGHAI BANKING CORPORATION

SATISFACTORY RESULTS
MR. C. BLAKER ON BRITISH BANKERS' IMPORTANT ROLE IN ASIA

The ordinary yearly general meeting of The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation was held on March 11 at the Head Office, 1, Queen's Road, Central, Hong Kong.

Mr. C. Blaker, M.C., E.D., the Chairman, presided, and in the course of his speech said : The net profit for

the year amounts to HK \$19,290,451 which is some HK \$2m. in excess of last year's figure. The balance of profit brought forward from last year amounts to HK \$9,859,542, and the total available for appropriation is accordingly HK \$29,149,993. In view of the heavy expenditure which it has been necessary to incur in recent years on new Bank premises, it is proposed that a sum of HK \$6m. should this year be written off Bank Premises Account and, after allowing for this transfer and the Interim Dividend of £2 per share, it is recommended that the Final Dividend should again be £3 per share, leaving a balance to be

carried forward to next year of HK \$10,215,256.

As shareholders will be aware, it is proposed to increase our Share Capital by the issue of one new share for every four shares now held, and an Extraordinary General Meeting is being held after this Meeting to pass two resolutions for this purpose. In this connection it is hoped, provided of course the profits of the Bank are maintained, to pay the same annual Dividend of £5 per share for the current year on the increased capital.

BALANCE SHEET FEATURES

Our published Reserve Fund now stands at HK \$128m. (£8m.). Current

and Other Accounts and Acceptances on behalf of Customers have increased by HK \$36m. and HK \$46m. respectively.

On the assets side of the Balance Sheet, Cash, Call Money and Treasury Bills have decreased by approximately HK \$300m., and the funds thus made available, together with the increase in our total funds during the year, have been mainly re-employed in Trade Bills and Advances to Customers which have increased by HK \$168m. and HK \$184m. respectively. It is a source of some satisfaction that we have been able to employ these larger funds during the year in their rightful sphere of financing international trade and commerce.

As shareholders will be aware, trading conditions in the territories in which we operate have, in general, continued to be difficult, although the increase in the prices of certain primary commodities in the latter part of the year rather changed the picture in some areas. In all the circumstances your Directors feel that the results of the year must be regarded as satisfactory.

The printed statement which is in your hands today deals with the political and economic situation in the Eastern countries where we have offices. It also refers to the position in China and to our negotiations regarding final closure of our Shanghai Office. I will now only say that while the Bank's main problem in China is still unresolved, our Offices at Swatow and Tientsin have been wound up during the past year and Peking is likely to be closed soon.

In Viet Nam we have shut our office at Haiphong, but to counter-balance this, we have now completed arrangements for opening an independent branch at Phnom-Penh, the capital of Cambodia.

The report and accounts were adopted.

CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT

The following is an extract from a statement by the Chairman which was

taken as read, copies having been handed to stockholders :

The question of economic aid for the under-developed countries in Asia has been dealt with from this chair on many occasions. If internal finance cannot be raised for development needs, the safest way out of the difficulty is to seek external finance, either private or Governmental. But foreign private investment has not hitherto received much encouragement towards venturing capital in the less developed areas. Political uncertainties, nationalistic suspicions and rigid restrictions have antagonised and frightened potential investors, but I am glad to say that recently some signs of a change of policy in this respect have been noted in some countries. On the other hand, even foreign Governmental aid, if coming from one exclusive source, has been looked at with some suspicion in recent years and Asian countries mostly prefer joint international action such as the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations has for some years been trying to get adopted.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION

Now at last a new phase seems to have been reached after about four years of discussions in the United Nations and by the authorities of the International Bank, and it looks as if a step is being made in the right direction. This is the establishment of an International Finance Corporation as an affiliate of the International Bank and with an initial capitalisation of US\$100m. The Corporation is designed to increase private investment in less developed countries. This project was dealt with in some detail, and on the same lines as now formally proposed, in the report of the International Bank for 1951/2. The care expended on the project has thus a good chance of bearing fruit. Similarly, the establishment of the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India is another step forward. Here we see a promising international-cum-private investment concern, which, if successful, may well prove to be a model for similar

ventures in other Eastern countries. The Government of India, the International Bank, the Commonwealth Development Finance Company, certain Indian Banks and Insurance Companies and a group of British exchange banks, insurance companies and industrial firms, are participating together with a strong American group. I am glad to say that we are one of the British banks which have taken up shares in this Corporation.

CHINA ?

Our own particular hopes about China are that the negotiations for the settlement of our problems in closing our Offices, which have been carried on now for nearly four years, should be satisfactorily concluded. Progress has been extremely slow. Nevertheless we hope that before long we shall be able to come to a settlement with the Chinese about all outstanding matters.

The statement then reviewed in detail the conditions in China, Hong Kong and other territories in which the Bank has interests and concluded : Without blinding our eyes to the trend of events in the East, we feel confident that British Bankers still have an important part to play in Asia as elsewhere. New measures are being adopted for the mobilisation of capital to assist industrial development in the free countries of the East and particularly in the area of the "Colombo Plan" countries. In these areas the expansion of trade is growing rapidly and will continue as the countries increase their development and raise their standards of living. We are well aware that we must continually adapt ourselves, as we have done in good times and in bad throughout the past ninety years of the Bank's existence and you may be confident that we will do so.

At a subsequent Extraordinary General Meeting the two resolutions referred to, increasing the capital of the Corporation from HK \$20m. to HK \$25m. and capitalising the sum of HK \$5m. by the issue of one new share for every four shares now held, were carried.

NATIONAL BANK OF INDIA

CONTINUED GROWTH

Mr. J. K. MICHIE'S REVIEW

The annual general meeting of the National Bank of India, Ltd., will be held on April 5 in London.

The following is an extract from the circulated statement by the Chairman, Mr. J. K. Michie :

First I wish to refer to changes during the year in the directorate. To our great sorrow Sir George Morton, O.B.E., M.C., who joined the board in 1947, died a few days after our last annual general meeting. Sir George had a distinguished career in commerce in India and we greatly miss his wide knowledge and mature wisdom.

In April last, Sir Henry Guy Cooper, M.C., D.C.M., was elected to the board and his appointment now comes up for confirmation. Sir Guy has had a long and intimate experience of Indian affairs and of the oil industry, and I confidently recommend him to you.

While at home 1954 was a year of steady economic progress, the pattern of events in our various fields of operations was distinctly more chequered. Nevertheless, the figures in our balance-sheet reflect continued growth and we are satisfied with the results achieved in circumstances of some difficulty.

INCREASE IN DEPOSITS

Our deposits have risen very substantially and the total of our consolidated balance-sheet at £162,031,432 not only tops last year by £25,578,458 but considerably exceeds the highest previous figure of £147,283,674 shown at December 31, 1951. This expansion, I am glad to say, is spread over the whole area of our operations. The figure for the National Bank of India, Ltd., alone shows an increase of £23,704,466.

We propose again to allot £75,000 to premises account and, as I have previously told you, this account will continue to grow until our major building and

rebuilding operations are overtaken. The two large offices still under way are at Dar-es-Salaam and Aden, but as we expand it must be accepted that further investment in bricks and mortar is inevitable.

After full provisions for taxation, bad and doubtful debts, and other necessary reservations our consolidated net profits are £385,923, against £387,644 for the previous year.

As you are aware, a second interim dividend of 8 per cent. has been declared, making 15 per cent. for the year on the increased capital. I think this return is a liberal interpretation of the implied promise I made last year and a standard we have every hope of maintaining.

The resultant balance enables us to transfer £70,000 to contingencies and to carry forward the slightly increased figure of £326,266.

Subsidiaries.—The profit shown by Grindlays Bank, Ltd., is again lower, but branching out into new territories is inevitably initially expensive, and it will take some time before operations in the Rhodesias show favourable returns. Prospects, however, are encouraging. The operations of the Finance & Development Corporation continue to grow and to be profitable.

STERLING CONVERTIBILITY

Until it is brought about and possibly even after that event, convertibility of the pound sterling, by which I mean free or absolute convertibility, will be a much debated question, but I am glad to see Mr. Butler recently made a pronouncement that "the conditions for convertibility have not yet been fulfilled" and this view he has since reinforced by the recent drastic increases in the Bank Rate from 3 per cent. to 4½ per cent. Indeed one has to look no further than the discount at which "convertible" sterling stood until the Chancellor took remedial measures, or the slow tempo of our accumulation of gold and dollar reserves to see the justification for Mr. Butler's statement.

Sterling has to show a much stronger front before it can safely be declared

convertible and that means an all-round strengthening of the economy and currencies of the whole sterling area. We know that last year production in this country increased by around 5 per cent. but much of that increase seems to have been consumed internally which reflects an inflationary trend and does not improve our all-important external budget. In fact, to plagiarise Lewis Carroll, "it takes all the running we can do to keep in the same place." A great deal has been accomplished but until our balance of trade has been considerably bettered it will be difficult to justify more than mild satisfaction, especially when we remember that never before in times of peace has such full employment been enjoyed.

In these circumstances, while there are good general grounds for optimism, I fear the Chancellor of the Exchequer will still find it necessary to skim off the froth of inflation in our economy by taxation of one kind or another. Money is now dearer in the United Kingdom than it is in India, Pakistan, Burma, or Ceylon.

N.B.I. REVIEW

October, 1954 saw the appearance of the first issue of the *N.B.I. Review*, a quarterly which is to be devoted to the consideration of the specialised problems of Eastern banking. In this respect it breaks new ground, and the first two issues have had a favourable reception.

We hope to maintain the standard that has been set in the belief that the *Review* will be of practical use as well as of interest to our constituents and correspondents at home and overseas.

Staff.—We are again beholden to our staff throughout our business for their vital contributions to the achievement of the results we show and our thanks are sincere. We believe that the best service to our customers can only be provided by a staff with a true esprit de corps, and this it is our continuous aim to cultivate.

Barring major imponderables I can see no reason why the business of the bank should not prosper in 1955.

HONG KONG SHIPPING

New construction work in the main commercial shipyards of Hong Kong during the last three months of 1954 continued at a steady level, according to a progress report by Mr. J. Jolly, Director of Marine. Two steel lighters constructed at Kowloon docks are nearing readiness, and will shortly be towed to the Philippines. A diesel-electric ferry, named the *Oriental Star*, is soon to enter service. The outstanding feature of the three

months at Taikoo Docks was the launching of the motor vessel *Chung King*.

British ocean-going vessels entering the port during the quarter totalled 416, a decrease of five over the preceding period, and the number clearing port was 18 less than the previous quarter, when there were 430. A total of 509 foreign ocean-going vessels entered port in the same period compared with 539 for the previous quarter, and those clearing numbered 510, a decrease of 19.

SINO-BRITISH TRADE RELATIONS

By Tsao Chung-shu (Peking)

In the February number of *EASTERN WORLD* we published an interview with Mr. W. G. Pullen, General Manager of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, who was the leader of the British trade delegation to China last November. We now take pleasure in publishing the Chinese reaction to that visit. Mr. Tsao is the acting manager of the China National Import and Export Corporation. He headed the Chinese trade delegation which visited England in 1954.—*Ed.*

B RITAIN and China have been doing business for more than a hundred years—often on a very considerable scale. In the best year between the two world wars they exchanged goods to the value of more than £106m. sterling.

The Japanese invasion of 1937-45 first slashed Sino-British trade, then killed it altogether. And the years 1945-49, between Japan's surrender and the establishment of the People's Republic of China, failed to bring the hoped-for recovery. The reason for this was that the United States, which emerged from the war with its industry undamaged and operating on a very high level, used its political control of the Chiang Kai-shek Government to capture the lion's share of the China market for itself, pushing out all other competitors. In 1947, for example, the value of Sino-British trade fell to £11m., and in 1948 to £6m.—one-seventeenth of what it had been at its peak.

The subsequent victory of the Chinese people gave the nation true independence from foreign control, put an end to decades of ruinous civil war, and made it possible rapidly to develop the economy. This was naturally good for foreign trade—including trade with Britain. The proof was that, in 1950, the volume of Sino-British trade rose considerably. But this increase was unfortunately short-lived because the United States, side by side with its intervention in Korea, dragged the British Government into its policy of embargo against China. The value of transactions between China and Britain in 1951 was less than half that of 1950, and in 1952 it fell to one-third.

China did not seek such a situation. Nor, naturally, was it to the taste of British business men, who also made efforts to change it. In 1953, after the United States had had to agree to an armistice in Korea, a British trade delegation came to Peking. Some large British business concerns which had dealt with China in the past began to show signs of renewed interest. They saw that China's large-scale industrial construction and the rising living standards of her people had made her a bigger customer for both producers' and consumers' goods and that her growing agricultural output made it possible for her to export more in her turn. Contacts began to multiply and

trade to grow. Its volume in 1953 was more than four times that of 1952 and 38 per cent. higher than in 1950. It was recognised on all sides that, were it not for the continuance of American-imposed restrictions, the growth would have been much bigger.

At the Geneva Conference in 1954, British industrial and commercial representatives held discussions with trade experts in the Chinese delegation. Mr. Harold Wilson, M.P., a former President of the Board of Trade, called on Premier Chou En-lai and had cordial talks with him on the same subject.

A Chinese trade mission later went to Britain, where it was very well received and made extensive contacts. As a direct result of this visit, a second British trade delegation came to China. It was headed by Mr. W. G. Pullen, the general manager of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, and represented 27 industrial establishments, two banks and a shipping firm. Talks with the government-operated China National Import & Export Corporation and other corporations concerned went on for three weeks. Understanding was reached as to the goods each side required and was ready to offer and the provisions of general trade contracts. Arrangements were made for a third British trade delegation to come to China in March, 1955.

The value of actual contracts concluded during the visit to Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai was £5m. China placed orders for chemical fertilisers, dyestuffs, raw material for chemical industries, medical supplies, metals, wool, machinery, scientific apparatus, electrical appliances and general merchandise. The British business men ordered pulses (beans), certain grades of wool, feathers, pig casings, animal skins, dried egg products, tea, silk, menthol crystals, peppermint oil, hemp, walnut meats, honey, liquorice extract, talc, ephedrine, naphthalene balls, handicraft articles, tinned fruits and other commodities. Tinned fruits and frozen pork, both new exports from China to Britain, attracted much interest. So did Chinese furs, and the suggestion was made that they be displayed at the annual London Fur Auction. One of the visitors, a tobacco man, expressed the view that Chinese leaf tobacco is in every way a match for the supplies on which Britain now spends her reserves of American dollars.

The provisions of the 181 contracts signed varied in accordance with individual requirements. Some were long-term supply contracts, some were for a half-year term, some for a whole year. Some called for lump-sum payments, others for payment by instalments. Some prices were fixed, others variable. The spirit of mutual

(Continued on page 60)

EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE FOR INDIA'S FIVE YEAR PLAN

By a New Delhi Correspondent

THE role of external assistance in the implementation of India's Five-year Plan has been stated as follows by the Planning Commission:

"The role of external assistance in relation to the Plan will be to supplement the real resources of the country with commodities for which additional demands will be generated in the process of development but the domestic supplies of which are limited. External assistance would help to avoid dislocations and to maintain a certain measure of stability in the economy."

It was intended to be primarily marginal in character and it was to be utilised at points at which it would be most useful.

Since the beginning of the Plan period, India has received assistance from friendly foreign countries. The total authorisation of such assistance till July, 1954, amounts to Rs. 236.7 crores.*

Thus, against a total outlay of nearly Rs. 2,240 crores in the first Five-year Plan, the external assistance received or promised during the first three years comes to a little over ten per cent. of total expenditure. This assistance has been both in the form of grants and loans. The loans received amount to about Rs. 117.4 crores; the details are as follows: Wheat Loan from the USA: Rs. 90.4 crores; from the World Bank for the Damodar Valley Corporation and the Indian Iron & Steel Co.: Rs. 20.0 crores; undrawn balance of the loans sanctioned by the World Bank during the pre-Plan period but available for utilisation now: Rs. 7.0 crores.

The other part of the assistance received or promised is in the form of economic aid of which the major portion has come from the US Government. Assistance has also been provided by Colombo Plan countries including Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Government of Norway and the American Ford Foundation. Most of this assistance has come in the form of special equipment and supplies, which are not available within India and but for which the development programmes would have been hampered or slowed down. The other form of assistance relates to the provision of technical experts for some of India's development projects and training facilities for Indian students abroad.

Till June, 1954, the US Government had authorised \$171m. (about Rs. 81.43 crores) for assistance to India as economic aid. Utilisation of this assistance has formed the subject matter of separate project agreements between the two Governments covering various schemes like supply of fertilisers, iron and steel, rolling stock for railways, construction of tubewells; promotion of a nation-wide malaria control programme; equipment for projects like Hirakud, Ghataprabha, Chambal and Rihand, for the Rajasthan Thermal Power Station and Madras Thermal Power Plant Extension Scheme.

For the year 1954-55, America has allocated \$60.5m. (about Rs. 28.33 crores) for development assistance to India. In addition an amount has been provided for technical aid. Details of the projects to which this assistance will be applied, and the manner of its utilisation are at present under consideration.

The Government of Canada had given assistance of \$41.9m. (about Rs. 19.10 crores) till 1953-54. This was supplied partly

in wheat and partly in trucks and engines for the Bombay State Transport Corporation and boilers for Indian railways. Funds created out of the sale of wheat and boilers are being utilised for meeting a part of the expenditure on the Mayurakshi Irrigation Project in West Bengal. Among other schemes assisted by Canada is the Umtru Hydro-electric Project of Assam for which an agreement was entered into recently.

During 1954-55 the allocation of Canadian assistance to India is between \$13-14m. (about Rs. 7 crores).

Australia has provided assistance amounting to £6.8m. (Rs. 7.27 crores) during the first two years of the Plan. This was received partly in the form of wheat and partly in the form of equipment for the Tungabhadra and Ramagundam Hydro-electric projects. In the year 1953-54 there was no definite allocation, but the Australian Government had agreed to make further contributions to the extent required for procurement of equipment for certain selected projects.

New Zealand has contributed an amount of £1m. to be utilised for meeting a part of the capital cost of the All-India Medical Institute.

The Government of Norway has agreed to provide initially a sum of 10m. Norwegian Kroners (about Rs. 67 lakhs) for a pilot project for fishery development in Travancore-Cochin.

The Ford Foundation of the USA has assisted India to the tune of \$5m. (about Rs. 2.38 crores). This is being utilised for Extension Centres set up for training specialised personnel required for the community projects and the National Extension Service, for the Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission and for other schemes of training specialists in Social Education, Health, etc.

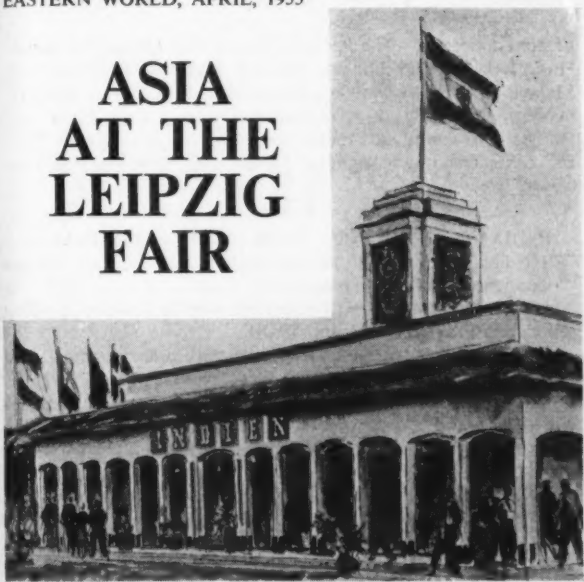
Foreign assistance for the internal development of the country is a post-war concept. The idea was first embodied in the programmes of the United Nations and found concrete shape in the constitution of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. For the South-East Asian countries, this international cooperation has found expression in the Colombo Plan of which India has been a member from its very inception. In fact, while India receives assistance from foreign countries, she has herself rendered assistance to some of the countries of South-East Asia. These include Nepal for the development of which Indian assistance is of the order of nearly Rs. 8 crores. The projects which India has been assisting in Nepal are minor irrigation works, the Trisuli hydro-electric project, the Thribhuvan Raj Path, etc.

In the field of technical cooperation, the Government of India have offered to provide to students from South-East Asian countries, training facilities in engineering colleges and research institutes and also practical training in railways, posts and telegraphs, irrigation and power, education and industry. At the Indian Statistical Institute at Calcutta training facilities have been provided for a large number of students from the countries in the region.

Seven experts from India have been sent to Ceylon to help that Government in various projects including irrigation, railways, electrical engineering, and iron and steel manufacture.

*1 crore = £750,000.

ASIA AT THE LEIPZIG FAIR



The Indian pavilion

THE Leipzig Fair, which is now firmly established as the most important centre of East-West trade, has also become a vital gateway to Asian markets. Not only was the Spring Fair a conspicuous success as far as its size (306,000 sq. yds.), number of visitors (560,000) and exhibitors (9,767) as well as the substantial volume of business contracts were concerned, but it also enabled valuable contacts between European and Asian business men.

Asia's prominent participation at the Fair was dominated by the spacious and tasteful Chinese pavilion, exhibiting an astounding variety of products ranging from traditional commodities to heavy machinery.

India, with an attractive but inadequate pavilion, did not appear to utilise all opportunities offered by the Fair, her exhibition being more museum-like rather than commercial. It is to be hoped that India will improve the business character of her representation and enlarge it at future Fairs. However, the Indian delegation, led by Mr. U. G. Puthli, was able to conclude business to the tune of several million rupees.

The Korean People's Democratic Republic and the

Democratic Republic of Viet Nam had a joint information pavilion which attracted a steady flow of visitors.

The practically unlimited markets offered by the reconstruction requirements of the entire eastern bloc (ranging from Eastern Europe to China) are mainly responsible for the boom inside that economic region which lends this atmosphere of prosperous activity to the Leipzig Fair. The US embargo on "strategic" goods has also contributed to stimulate production amongst the industrial countries of Eastern Europe which has now reached a remarkable level. Thus perhaps the most impressive aspect of the Fair was the enormous variety and the apparent high quality of goods produced by the German Democratic Republic. The outstanding industrial recovery of the GDR has been noted by many Asian countries and new trade agreements between Eastern Germany and Burma as well as with North Korea were signed at the Fair.

The agreement with Burma, signed with Minister U Thakin Tin, provides for the deliveries from Burma of spices, cotton, teak, rubber, wood oil, silver, tungsten, pulse, etc., while the GDR will supply machine equipment, installations, optical instruments, etc. At the same time a protocol was signed for the barter of Burmese rice against East German machines and equipment.

There is no doubt that Leipzig will provide increasing opportunities for British and other western trade with China

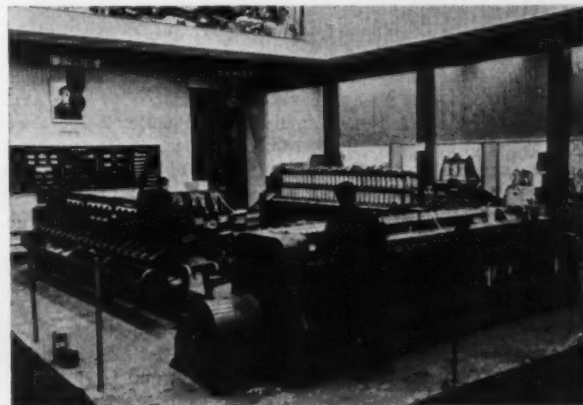


East German Secretary of State Gregor and Burmese Minister Thakin Tin signing the Trade Agreement

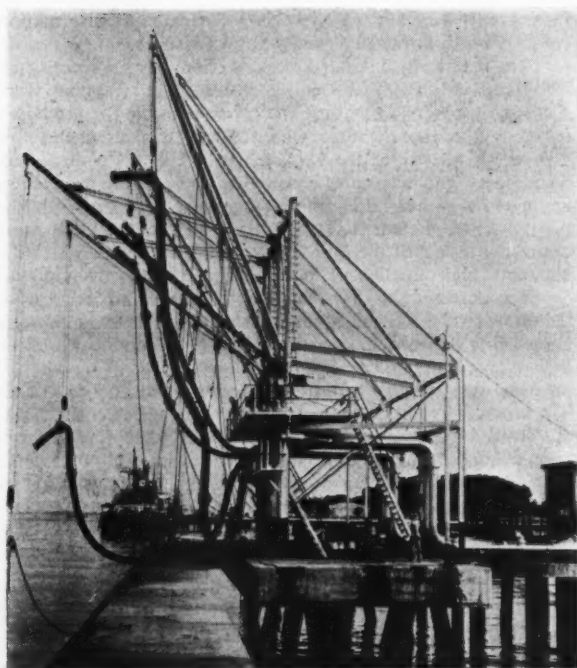
and the rest of the East. As a result of the Fair, China is expected to buy £500,000 worth of goods in Yorkshire, and an even larger participation of British firms at future Leipzig Fairs will prove essential in the interest of British exports.



The Chinese pavilion



Cotton textile machinery exhibited by the Chinese



Modern hose handling gear at the four new oil tanker berths at Pulo Bukom, Singapore, enabling loading and discharging at the rate of 2,000 tons per hour (Photo: Shell)

SWEDISH CEMENT EXPORTS TO ASIA

THE Swedish Cement Sales Corporation, Cementsa, reports a substantial increase in Swedish cement sales to Asia and the Pacific during 1954 as compared with the 1953 figures:

	1954 (in tons)	1953
Saudi Arabia	38,835	32,714
Kuwait	41,725	2,500
Pakistan	1,311	6,000
Indonesia	6,177	10,194
South Korea	19,633	—
Australia	19,812	1,016
Total	87,493	54,424

PORT OF BRISTOL'S TRADE WITH ASIA

THE Port of Bristol's trade with the countries of South-East Asia has increased considerably during the past two calendar years. Trade with Malaya showed an increase from 7,000 tons in 1953 to 8,700 tons in 1954, mainly accounted for by increased quantities of hardwood timber, fibres, rubber, paraffin wax and rice. Increased tonnages were also recorded from ports in Indonesia and the Philippines, whilst trade with Burma showed a very marked increase with a total tonnage of 51,000 tons, which was nearly two-and-a-half times more than the 1953 figure. This trade expansion was mainly in animal feeding stuffs and zinc concentrates, the latter commodity showing a rise from 5,900 tons in 1953 to 25,700 tons in 1954.

India has exported to the Port of Bristol more tobacco and feeding stuffs, whilst more feeding stuffs arrived from Pakistan in 1954. Tea imports from India, Pakistan and Ceylon have shown a steady increase during the past 12 months.

Regular liner services link the port with the principal

Eastern countries. The Ben and Alfred Holt Lines serve Japan, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Borneo, Thailand, Indonesia and Malaya; the Bibby, Hall and Henderson Lines operate regularly between Burma and Avonmouth Docks; and India and Pakistan are served by Brocklebank, City, Clan, Ellerman, Hall, India Steamship and Scindia Lines. All these liner services call at Ceylon.

INDIAN AIR LINK WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE first direct air link between Britain and the Iron Curtain countries was announced this month. From May 10, Air-India International will operate a weekly London-Bombay service via Prague, Rome and Cairo.

It is expected that the new route will aid commercial and political relations with East European countries.

Super-Constellation airliners with accommodation for 40 tourist and 22 first-class passengers will leave London Airport for Prague every Tuesday. The flight will take under three hours. On the return journey, aircraft will leave Prague on Mondays. Return fares between London and Prague will be £56 first class and £45 tourist.

BRITISH AIRLINERS FOR AUSTRALIA

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL AIRWAYS has ordered a large fleet of British airliners, the Handley Page Herald, for service on its Australia-wide network of routes. This is the second Australian order for Heralds; it follows one made late last year by Queensland Airlines.

The Herald is the new general-purpose civil transport which is being built in Britain for the workaday air services of the world. This robust, versatile aircraft carries passengers or freight, or a combination of both, and can operate from primitive airfields under a wide range of climatic conditions. A four-engined, pressurised high-wing monoplane, it carries up to a maximum of 44 passengers or more than 4½ tons of freight at cruising speeds of over 200 m.p.h. and can operate with full payload from a 1,000-yard grass strip at 5,000 feet in tropical conditions. Operational cost of the Herald is less than 1½d. per passenger mile or 1s. 3d. per ton-mile.

CEYLON TO RECEIVE U.S. AID THIS YEAR

OUR Colombo correspondent reports that Ceylon seems set to receive economic aid from the United States after the visit to the island of Mr. Harold E. Stassen, Chief of the US Foreign Operations Administration, last month.

Mr. Stassen, who had discussions with the Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala and other Government officials on US aid to Ceylon, said before his departure that a basis had been reached for decision by the US Government "that will be in the mutual interests of both countries."

No specific offer of aid was made to Ceylon by Mr. Stassen, but according to high diplomatic sources America would definitely offer aid in some form, without prejudice to Ceylon's free trade policy, especially her trade with Communist China.

At present Ceylon is the only Commonwealth country that does not receive US aid. This is due to the fact that Ceylon sells rubber to China in exchange for rice. The Battle Act debars America from aiding any nation which traded in strategic material with Communist nations.

Asked at a Press conference whether he insisted that Ceylon should break her trade agreement with Red China as a precondition to receiving US aid, Mr. Stassen said: "We recognise that there are some special circumstances in connection with shipments of rubber to China and trade for rice. We are studying these special circumstances carefully before taking our decisions in relation to the Government of Ceylon."

The Prime Minister told Mr. Stassen that Ceylon was in urgent need of aid to raise the living standards of the people. He emphasised, however, that Ceylon was not prepared to accept any aid with political strings.

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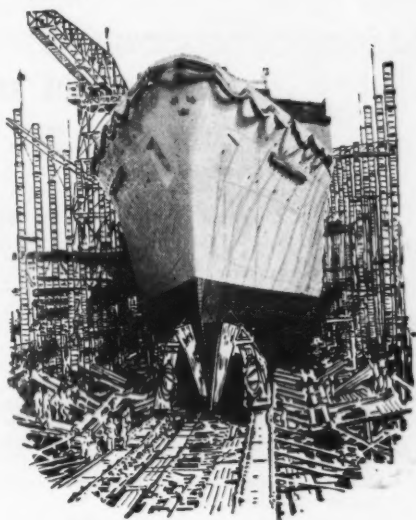
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SINO-BRITISH TRADE RELATIONS—(Continued from page 51)

accommodation was appreciated by our visitors. It was the view of both sides that such flexibility is much better for the development of trade than adherence to any standard pattern.

Discussion in Peking also touched on goods required by China for which export licences are still not being granted by the British Government. After both parties had studied details of procedure and specifications of such commodities advance orders were offered by China, to be filled as soon as politically inspired restrictions are removed. Mr. G. R. A. Kwass of Lamet Trading Co., member of the delegation, stated in this regard that China needs machinery for production, vehicles and transport equipment.

At the same time, the visitors made a careful study of the means of payment, including the availability in China of various items which it would be to Britain's interest to take in return for increased deliveries of her own goods. Feigned doubts as to China's ability to pay are the constant stock-in-trade of propagandists who do not want to see Sino-British trade develop as it should. These doubts, artificially sown in the minds of business men, have been well answered by Mr. Pullen, who said that the problem is not whether China has anything to sell, it is how much Britain can buy. The China National Import & Export Corporation and the British trade delegation said in their final joint statement: "There is ample scope for the

further development of Sino-British trade, particularly when normal trade relations are fully restored."

The chief reason why such trade relations do not exist is the American-dictated embargo on many types of goods. More and more British industrialists and business men are realising how hurtful this embargo is to their interests, and how trade with non-dollar areas, particularly with countries engaged in planned peaceful economic construction, could help Britain overcome some current difficulties. British working people too have made clear that they are in favour of Chinese and other orders that would provide long-term employment.

As for us in China, we are engaged in expanding industry and agriculture on a scale which necessitates very large imports and has made it possible for us to export much more than ever before. We are interested not so much in consumers' and luxury goods as in industrial and building supplies for a giant long-term programme creating the foundation of real nationwide prosperity. While this requires certain changes in the thinking of some who traded with China in the past, it offers a basis for healthier and more extensive business connections than have hitherto existed.

China is working for trade on terms of equal benefit with Britain and all other countries. We believe that this is desirable for an improvement of living standards for all nations concerned, for the promotion of friendship and mutual understanding, and for the lessening of international tensions that threaten peace.

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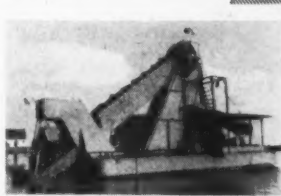
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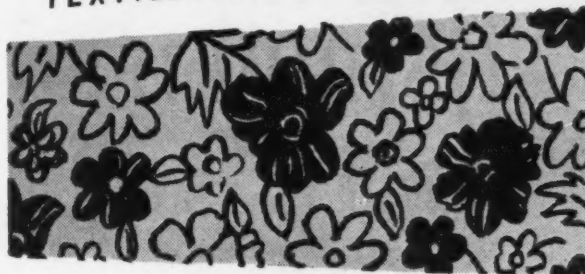
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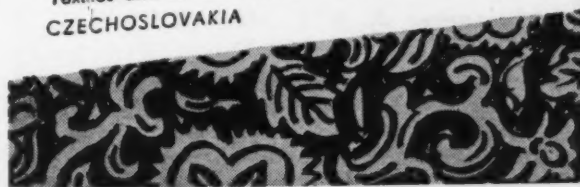
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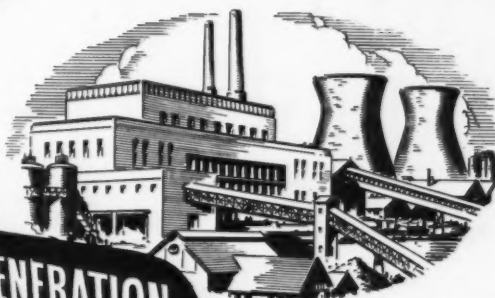
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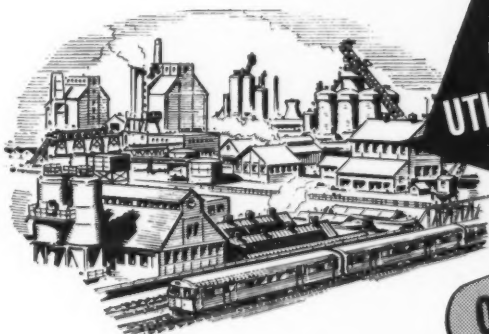


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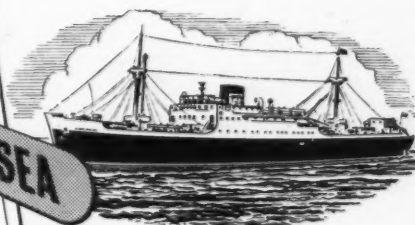
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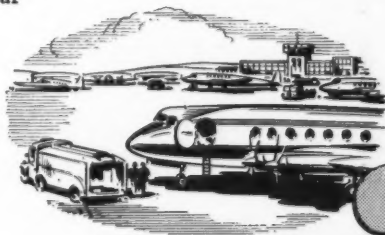
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